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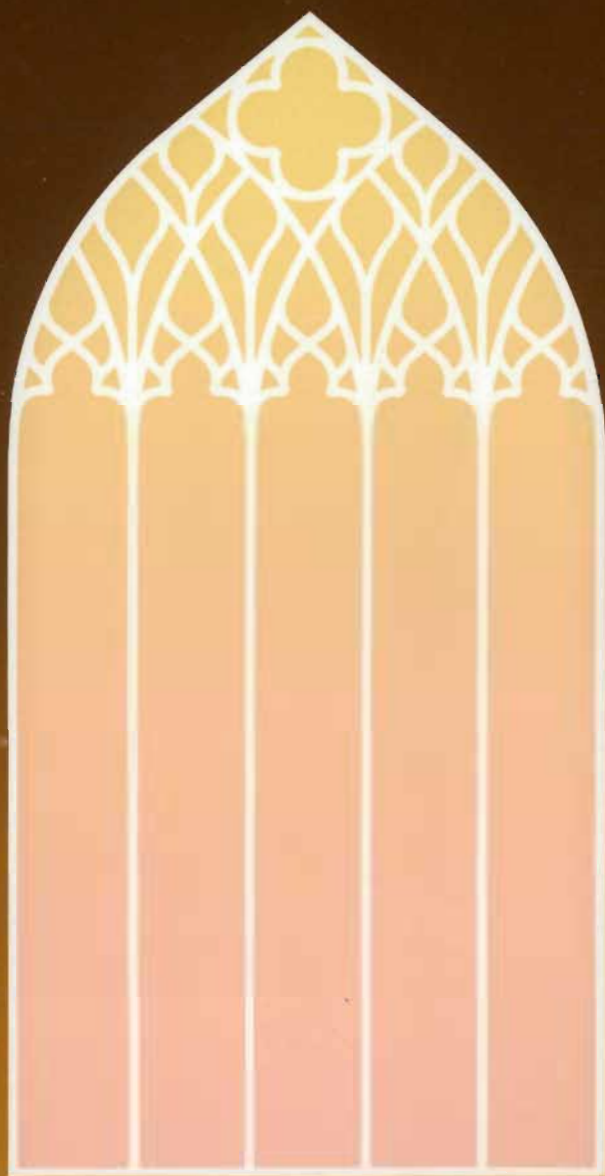
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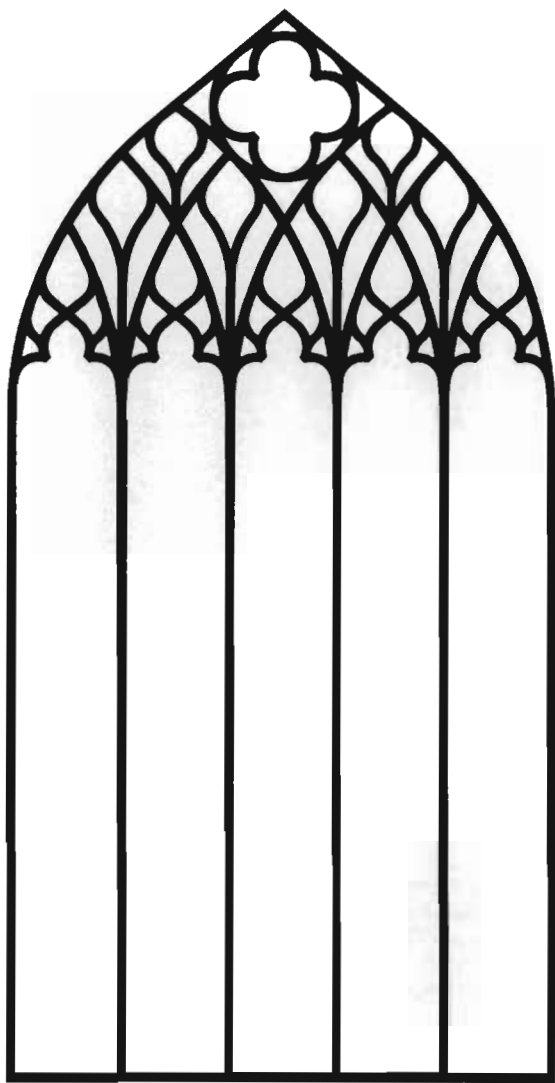
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JOURNAL OF MORMON HISTORY



FALL 1999

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COVER: Abstraction of the window tracery, Salt Lake City Tenth Ward. Design by Warren Archer.

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The *Journal of Mormon History* exists to foster scholarly research and publication in the field of Mormon history. Manuscripts dealing with all aspects of Mormon history are welcome, including twentieth-century history, regional and local history, women's history, and ethnic/minorities history. First consideration will be given to those which make a strong contribution to knowledge through new interpretations and/or new information. The Board of Editors will also consider the paper's general interest, accuracy, level of interpretation, and literary quality. The *Journal* does not consider reprints or simultaneous submissions.

Papers for consideration must be submitted in triplicate, typed and double-spaced throughout, including all quotations. Authors should follow the *Chicago Manual of Style*, 14th edition (see a recent edition of the *Journal*) and be prepared to submit accepted manuscripts on computer diskette, IBM-DOS format preferred. Send manuscripts to the *Journal of Mormon History*, P.O. Box 581068, Salt Lake City, UT 84158-1068.

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LETTERS

Order of Authors

Since the University of Illinois Press is copublisher of *The Journals of William E. McLellin* I know you won't mind my pointing out that the notes throughout Steven Harper's article, "Missionaries in the American Marketplace: Mormon Proselyting in the 1830s" (Fall 1998) cite the editors as John W. Welch and Jan Shipps. The correct order is Jan Shipps and John W. Welch.

Elizabeth G. Dulany
University of Illinois Press

About William Chandless

Craig Smith's "The Curious Meet the Mormons: Images from Travel Narratives, 1850s and 1860s" (Fall 1998), is a lively, readable, and accurate summary of accounts by travelers who visited the Mormons before 1869 to be "upstream swimmers" against the "powerful and enormous current" of negative press.

William Chandless was one of these upstream swimmers. Chandless, a wealthy Englishman who graduated in classics from Cambridge, gave up law for travel and exploration. He crossed the continent on a whim by hiring on as a "cattle driver" with a wagon train heading for Salt Lake City from St. Joseph, Missouri. He first viewed the Mormon city on 7 November 1855, his twenty-sixth birthday. During No-

vember and December, Chandless boarded with Vincent Shurtleff and his four wives. In 1857, Chandless published *A Visit to Salt Lake; Being a Journey across the Plains with a Residence in the Mormon Settlement at Utah*. At least two English reviewers condemned Chandless's favorable point of view towards the Mormons. In later years, Chandless systematically explored and mapped the southern tributaries of the Amazon River. In 1866 the Royal Geographical Society awarded him a gold medal for his exploration and mapping of the 1,866 mile long Purus River.

However, Chandless was never a member of Parliament (160). Craig Smith probably came to the same mistaken conclusion about Chandless that I did in 1972 in my master's thesis on the Mormon image in 1850-60s travel accounts. Chandless himself was the source of the confusion. In *A Visit to Salt Lake*, (248), Chandless said he "cut" (did not attend) Parliamentary speeches on scriptural topics. Having no biographical information about Chandless, I erroneously concluded that he had been a member of Parliament, when in fact, he had been a spectator. However, when I published "William Chandless: British Overlander, Mormon Observer, Amazon Explorer" (*Utah Historical Quarterly* 54, No. 2 [Spring 1986]: 116-36), I had confirmed that he had never been a mem-

ber of Parliament and I did not describe him as such.

*Edwina Jo Snow
Honolulu, Hawaii*

Handbook Update

The First Presidency issued a new *Church Handbook of Instructions* in late 1998 to replace the *General Handbook of Instructions* of 1989. The new book combines all the handbooks for priesthood and auxiliary organizations and other assignments. It is the first 160 pages, called Book 1, that correspond closely to the earlier publication.

The new publication makes many changes in other areas, but makes only trivial changes in temple admission standards. These few should, however, be noted as supplementing my article on that subject, *Journal of Mormon History* (Spring 1998, beginning p. 135):

The standard of maturity for receiving a recommend is said to be neither age nor leaving home for school or occupation, but rather ability to understand and keep covenants made in the temple. CHI (1998): 66-67/cf. JMH 164 note 96. The article should have noted that for a person with mental disability the standard is the same as for a young adult. GHI (1989): 6-2 and CHI (1998): 67.

A person who has undergone elective transsexual surgery may not receive a recommend. The omission of this rule in 1989 may have been inadvertent, rather than intended as an authorization for the bishop to consider individual circumstances, as I suggested. (Presumably the restriction

would not apply in the case of surgery consistent with the sex indicated by the person's chromosomes.) CHI (1998): 67; JMH 151.

With respect to p. 145 of the article, note 26, President Hinckley clarified the Church's present stand: polygamists are not to be baptized even in countries where plural marriage is lawful. (See his "What Are People Asking About Us?" *Ensign*, November 1998, 71-72.)

The year associated with p. 171, item 7 ("assure that family members are not abused or neglected") should have been 1979 rather than 1989.

The First Presidency associated with the 1983 *General Handbook of Instructions* (175) should be listed as Spencer W. Kimball, Marion G. Romney, and Gordon B. Hinckley.

The year associated with item 7 (p. 171) should be 1979 rather than 1989. This new handbook, published 1998, effective 1 January 1999, should be appended to the list of handbooks in the article.

*Edward L. Kimball
Provo, Utah*

Ambiguous Polygamy

Recently Valeen Tippetts Avery, when responding to my book, *In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith*, at the Mormon History Association annual meeting in Ogden, brought up the issue of strained relations between Emma and the plural wives of Joseph. Did any of these women feel guilt at betraying Emma? she asked. Though Emma was not a

primary focus of my book, since Val and Linda King Newell had already published their definitive biography, this question caused me to reflect.

The following second-hand insight into Lucy Walker's marriage to Joseph Smith provides an interesting and poignant glimpse into the subject. It is late, but still worth preserving and thinking about. It is a holograph record made by in a pocket notebook by Nicholas G. Smith on 23 May 1945. He was then one of the Assistants to the Twelve, the son of Apostle John Henry Smith, the half-brother of George Albert Smith (future Church president), and the grandson of Apostle George A. Smith. His mother-in-law, Tirzah Farr Gay, daughter of Lorin Farr, founder of Ogden, was the source of this information, which was made available to me by permission of Nicholas G. Smith's youngest son, Nicholas G. Smith Jr. of Salt Lake City:

Lucy Walker was a hired girl in home of the prophet and was married to the prophet without Emma knowing it. She told Mother Gay who is who is [sic] now 93 years old. That she felt so guilty and terrible and Emma talked to her about it a[nd] said she hoped she would never make some married woman unhappy by marrying her husband.

If this source is valid, then we have a straightforward statement that Joseph did not tell Emma of his marriage to Lucy. Richard Lloyd Anderson and Scott Faulring, in their response to my book published in the recent *FARMS Review of Books* 10, No. 2

(1998): 67-104, try to make a case that Joseph usually told Emma of his plural marriages beforehand. However, I don't think their arguments are persuasive. Emma was present at the marriages of only a handful of the wives (no more than four out of a possible total of thirty-three, not counting the Partridge sisters, who first married Joseph without Emma's knowledge). In my view, Emma would have been present at many more of these plural marriages if Joseph had told her about them in advance.

Lucy felt "so guilty and terrible." Emma was a mother figure to the young hired women, maids, and nannies, who lived in her home, and the issue of polygamy aside, was extremely kind and generous to them. Her kindness would increase a sensitive young woman's feelings of guilt when she married Joseph without Emma's knowing, and would have increased Emma's feelings of betrayal. (We think of Heber C. Kimball weighed down with guilt when, following Joseph's instructions, he married a plural wife without telling his beloved Vilate. See Jeni Broberg Holzapfel and Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, eds., *A Woman's View: Helen Mar Whitney's Reminiscences of Early Church History* [Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1997] 137.) This second-hand account of Lucy's remorse also shows how a woman's inner experience of polygamy could be deeply conflicted.

The conversation with Emma in this passage has ambiguities, as the pronoun reference for "she hoped she" may have more than one reading. It

seems logical to me, however, that it should be read: "[Emma] said she hoped [Lucy] would never make some married woman unhappy." Even if an alternate reading is used, however, it shows Emma's deep opposition to polygamy.

Mormons continue to have conflicted feelings on polygamy. Feminists have praised and attacked it. The institutional church on the one hand seems to be distancing itself from the odd, nontraditional marriage practice (for instance, it is absent from *Legacy*), and on the other hand must defend it as a revelation from Joseph Smith, the first Mormon polygamist. My book showed how isolated women could be in polygamy, yet about half of my ancestors were polygamist, and I admire them enormously. Though polygamy sometimes seems safely tucked away in our history, its legacy of inner conflict is still with us. As Faulkner says, "The past is never dead. It's not even past."

*Todd Compton
Santa Monica, California*

His Unending Kindness and Fairness

As I have read the spring 1999 issue of the *Journal of Mormon History* dedicated to the memory of Leonard Arrington, I am overwhelmed with the many tributes to his integrity, his faith, his kindness, his scholarship, his generosity, his ability to keep track of so many people and projects, and his inclusiveness. He gathered under his wings a diversity of scholars, students, and friends. As a long-time lover of his-

tory, I first appreciated Leonard Arrington from afar through his books and the Mormon History Association. When he began work on a biography of my father, Harold F. Silver, he talked with my husband, Bob, and me to get our perspectives of his life. He and Harriet very graciously shared their friendship and their hospitality. He proved his perceptiveness of human relationships as he worked with our family. I admired his unending kindness and fairness.

When he gave a paper on my mother, Madelyn Cannon Stewart Silver, at the Mormon History Association annual meeting in Logan, I felt gratified to be there. He had told me that, as he worked on my father's biography, he had felt a special interest in my mother as a Mormon woman. He turned this interest into her biography. As he said in the preface, "I have told Madelyn's story but in the process I have told the story of my own mother, my wife's mother and grandmother, and thousands of women who have . . . given us a broader understanding of the meaning of existence." He was able to put his mind into hers empathetically as he put her life into the context of her time historically. Leonard Arrington was a remarkable man indeed!

*Elizabeth Silver Clawson
Denver, Colorado*

Last Respects

As a professional historian, I have great respect for Leonard J. Arrington and his work. There are many things that have impressed me. He was one of

the best organized historians that I have ever known. He had a tremendous collection of historical data, long before the computer age, and all of it was well organized and catalogued so that he could go right to the material he wanted.

Leonard was very generous in sharing that material with other historians, and he had sent me several items for projects that I was working on through the years. Leonard was helpful to younger historians as they moved through their careers. He encouraged and supported them, and made helpful suggestions about sources or ways to approach various subjects.

And the volume of work that he did in his own writing of history is unbelievable. The number of books and articles, well-documented and well-written, and his many positions of leadership in the historical profession are impressive. Leonard J. Arrington will be missed greatly, but his impact on knowing and writing history will live on forever.

Richard C. Roberts
Professor History, Emeritus
Weber State University

I Remember Laughing a Lot

I began selling books written by Leonard Arrington before I ever met him. It was during the 1970s and I was working for Deseret Book as a store manager. I first became a fan of his by reading the Mormon history that was being published under his direction as Church Historian, but I became a bigger fan after I met him and found him

to be a very warm, likable, and down-to-earth person. Leonard's sense of humor and unique laugh were infectious. I remember laughing a lot with Leonard.

Most of my interactions with Leonard have involved books in one way or another: book signings, selling books at MHA or the Sunstone Symposium, or his visits to my store. He always kindly asked how I was doing and was usually curious about how his books were doing, especially when they were first published. When he would ask me how well his newest book was doing, I would plagiarize Rodney Dangerfield and tell him, "It's selling into the dozens."

After his and Davis Bitton's book *The Mormon Experience* came out, he came in one day and couldn't see where we had placed it on the shelf. "Where is it?" he asked. With a solemn face, I whispered that we were instructed to keep it out of sight in the back room right next to Fawn Brodie's *No Man Knows My History*. He burst out laughing, and I couldn't keep a straight face any longer. For years after that he would tell people that we put his books in the back room with other "anti-Mormon" books.

As so many have already pointed out, Leonard genuinely cared about other people. Last year, I was flying home on stand-by from the MHA meeting in Washington, D.C., on the same flight as Leonard and Harriet. I told him I was hoping to get on the flight because I needed to be home that day. He became very concerned, trying to figure out a way to make sure I got

aboard. When I did get on at the last minute (Seat 1A in first class, I might add!), I went back into the coach cabin and asked the Arringtons how travel was there in “steerage” with all the “unwashed.” Again, we laughed, but I was touched by how obviously relieved he was that I had made the flight and the genuineness of his concern.

Some years ago, I worked on an article, “Fifty Important Mormon Books,” and solicited ideas and suggestions from numerous historians, authors, and others. Some did not bother to respond, but one of the first replies I received was a very detailed and thoughtful one from Leonard. I was impressed that this very busy and important man would take the time to respond.

One of my last contacts with Leonard was when he came to my bookstore to speak about and autograph his memoirs, *Adventures of a Church Historian*. We were treated to a

wonderful evening of stories, both serious and funny, and visiting between Leonard and my customers and staff. Little did we know that he would not be with us much longer. We always took it for granted that he would be around forever, writing books and helping others do the same.

Leonard Arrington had a great impact on my life. He helped me develop a greater love for history and even books (if that’s possible). For me he was a model of the proper balance between faith and the intellect that I have tried (with mixed results) to achieve. One of the greatest by-products of being in the business of selling Mormon books is to meet and associate with many fine authors and historians; it’s even better when I count them as friends. Leonard Arrington was one of those friends.

Curt Bench
Salt Lake City

The Office of the Governor: Proclamation

WHEREAS, Idaho's rich history has been preserved and maintained through the efforts of one of the state's most influential historians and scholars: Leonard James Arrington; and

WHEREAS, Leonard Arrington enhanced the image of our state and made Idaho a better place to live; and

WHEREAS, Leonard Arrington is widely acclaimed as one of the greatest scholars of American, Western and Mormon Church history; and

WHEREAS, Leonard Arrington's intellect, creativity, and love of the state of Idaho were the foundation for many of his scholarly and historical writings; and

WHEREAS, Leonard Arrington encouraged younger scholars to build on his work and continue the research and writing of Idaho's history; and

WHEREAS, Leonard Arrington's greatest challenge and his most significant contribution to the people of Idaho was the thousand page history of the state written for the Idaho Bicentennial celebration; and

WHEREAS, Leonard Arrington respected others of different temperaments, talents and convictions;

NOW, THEREFORE, I, DIRK KEMPTHORNE, Governor of the State of Idaho, do hereby recognize

Leonard James Arrington

for his contributions to the people and the state of Idaho. IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused to be affixed the Great Seal of the State of Idaho at the Capitol in Boise on this sixteenth day of March in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred ninety-nine and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred twenty-third and of the Statehood of Idaho the one hundred ninth.

DAVID ECCLES: A MAN FOR HIS TIME

Leonard J. Arrington

Kenneth W. Godfrey, cochair with his wife Audrey M. Godfrey of the Mormon History Association annual meeting in Ogden, Utah, 20-23 May 1999, related this vignette as background for this paper:

*Leonard J. Arrington's was the first proposal we received after the call for papers went out [in September 1998]. It arrived, handwritten, weeks before any others. Though he was considered by everyone as the dean of historians of Mormonism, the author of two dozen books, and hundreds of articles, and one of the founders of the association itself, he asked that we consider allowing him the privilege of presenting a paper and promised us that it would plow new ground, represent good scholarship, and would be a worthy contribution to LDS history. (in "The Voices of Memory," **Journal of Mormon History**, 25, no. 1 (Spring 1999): 88.*

*Though the spirit was willing, the flesh was weak. Leonard Arrington's illness over much of the winter of 1998-99 and much-mourned death in February prevented him from revising and updating this paper, first prepared for the dedication of the David Eccles College of Business, University of Utah, 6 October 1991 and drawn, in turn, from the full-length biography he had written: **David Eccles: Pioneer Western Industrialist** (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1975). Leonard's daughter, Susan Arrington Madsen, read this paper at MHA.*

DAVID ECCLES WAS ONE of the most creative and resourceful businessmen in the history of the Mountain West. He achieved such stature in spite of unbelievable obstacles. His life is a splendid demonstration of the American spirit of enterprise, coupled with the American dream that poor but proud and industrious immigrants might succeed in the New World. We recognize him as a person who tried hard to do well, who deserved to do well, and who, thanks to opportunities in the American West, *did* do well.

David Eccles was the founder of fifty-four separate enterprises, many of which are still in operation, including several banks, the Oregon Lumber Company, the Amalgamated Sugar Company, the Sumpter Valley and Mount Hood railways, and the Utah Construction Company. He was the husband of two remarkable women and was the father of twenty-one children, all of whom became respected and honorable citizens of the states in which they made their homes. Two of them were among Utah's greatest bankers, one was a fine lawyer, one a widely acclaimed professor of theater arts at the University of Utah, one a ceramicist, one a well-recognized teacher, and several of them leading businessmen and public citizens. All have been generous and thoughtful philanthropists.

David Eccles was Utah's first multimillionaire, mayor of Ogden during a critical period of its history, and he was generous in helping many families, particularly in Utah, earn handsome dividends in his enterprises. He was honest, hard-working, thrifty, friendly, and probably the finest business analyst in the Mountain West. If I were still a professor of economics, as I was for twenty-six years, I would be proud to teach in a college of business named for him. The David Eccles College of Business is natural and logical.

David Eccles was born in the poor section of Glasgow, Scotland, in 1849. His father, William Eccles, was a modest and humble wood craftsman. With a foot-operated lathe for turning wood, he made spools for cotton factories and household products such as fruit bowls and ladles. While still a young man, William Eccles developed double cataracts and became functionally blind. In seeking to support his family of nine, he continued to turn wood, shaping utensils by the touch of his experienced hands. His sons peddled these articles from store to store and from town to town. To boost earnings the boys also gathered kindling, dipped them in resin, and peddled them as fire starters.

As he reached age eleven, David became a traveling peddler, stacking his father's utensils on a donkey and going on business trips that sometimes lasted a month. To conserve his earnings, he slept out of doors. These experiences fostered in him an independent spirit and also, perhaps, determination and courage in conducting business transactions.

The William Eccles family had become converted to Mormonism even before David was born, and had worked toward migrating to Utah. Finally, in 1863, the family had accumulated some fifteen

pounds (\$75). The Mormon Church, in the meantime, had organized the Perpetual Emigrating Fund to assist European converts like the Eccleses and about 80,000 others to cross the ocean and the continent to the Great Salt Lake Valley. At the time the Eccleses left the British Isles, David was fourteen. When they reached St. Louis, his older brother John, for reasons not known today, returned to Scotland. This left David as the oldest son in the family; upon his shoulders rested much of the responsibility for his blind father, his mother, and his younger brothers and sisters.

Reaching Utah, the Eccleses moved to the valley east of Ogden where some Scottish friends had previously located. Living in a one-room lean-to during the winter of 1863-64, David gathered saplings, sold potato mashers, wooden bowls, rolling pins, and wooden spoons made by his father. On a winter sales trip through Ogden Canyon, he froze an ear in the bitter temperature and had to lie down with his face in the river for the ear to thaw. David later built a railroad through that canyon, but I regret that I cannot say that it was nicknamed the Frozen Ear Railroad.

The family was on the verge of starvation for three years. Their poverty and hunger were the product of an extended drought, which in turn attracted locusts from the desert that devoured their crops and also caused isolated groups of starving Indians to demand food. At one time, more than a thousand Shoshone Indians were camped in the vicinity; the white population numbered only 300.

In 1867, with bleak prospects for the future, the family was persuaded to move to Oregon City, Oregon, by their Scottish friend, David Stuart, who had been president of their Mormon company which sailed from Liverpool, and Joseph Tracy, president of the small Mormon group in Oregon City, who during a visit to Ogden told the Eccleses of the construction of the Oregon City woolen mill that would need workers.

Starting out in April 1867 with a cart and a yoke of cattle, the Eccleses were joined by some cousins who also had a wagon and a yoke of oxen. Their journey over the Oregon Trail was eventful as they encountered a huge fire and narrowly missed hostile Indians. After several delays, they arrived at a huge rock on a high plateau of the beautiful Cascade Mountains on which someone had scratched the legend "the straight way to hell." The trail lunged almost straight down. They locked the wheels of their wagons, tied on logs to drag behind, and descended without mishap.

In Oregon City the Eccles prospered. Some of the family worked in the woolen mill. David, who was now eighteen, cut cordwood for the mill for a year, worked in the Puget Sound area for six months for the famous Pope and Talbot lumber company, and for another six months on the California and Oregon Railroad, walking five miles daily to and from his job.

After two years in Oregon the family had accumulated enough to make a respectable start again; in June 1869, they returned to Ogden Valley. The transcontinental railroad had just been completed, and something of a boom was taking place in Ogden which, before the railroad, had been only a small country village. David helped build houses and got wood out of the canyons. In 1870 he freighted in Wyoming between the Union Pacific line at Aspen, Colorado, and the mines at South Pass. He earned enough in one season to buy his own yoke of cattle. Returning home, he contracted to cut and haul logs in Ogden Canyon. One day as he descended a mountainside driving the two prized animals, the damp ground slid, the oxen fell forward, and the yoke guiding them broke their necks. His investment lost, David worked on neighboring farms and then returned to Wyoming and the Union Pacific coal mines. He earned \$2.50 for a ten-hour day, turning a windlass which pulled the loaded mine cars up the incline to the portal. During one month (February), he worked Sundays and overtime, for a total of 350 hours. The mine foreman, observing his industry and determination, advanced him to weighing and totaling the weights of the loaded mine cars. Because of his lack of schooling, however, David Eccles was slow with figures and was unable to keep abreast of the work. After a few days, he was back to turning to the windlass. As he said in later years, this experience taught him the importance of "learning figures," which he resolved to do at the first opportunity.

Returning to Ogden Valley in the spring of 1872, he bought another yoke of oxen, obtained a second logging contract, and entered into a partnership with his bishop, David James, to work a sawmill in the Monte Cristo area east of Ogden. It was his responsibility to fell the trees, split them, and transport them to the mill. He slept alongside his work, was economical in the food he ate, and made a profit of \$1,500 in one season. He planned to use this money to enter a partnership in a lumberyard, but by now his older brother John, who had finally emigrated from Scotland, wanted to start a furniture business. The family prevailed on David

to lend John his savings. David did so; and predictably, John's business failed. David lost his savings and his partnership opportunity.

David still had two yoke of oxen and a wagon, however, and engaged in freighting between Salt Lake City and newly opened mines in Pioche, Nevada. On his first trip in the fall, he and his cousin were stranded for ten days in a snowstorm at Dog Valley, near present-day Cove Fort. They turned out the cattle to feed but discovered, when the storm subsided, that one was dead and the other three crippled. According to the cousin who accompanied him, David Eccles sat down and cried. However, he soon arranged to use other cattle belonging to another freighter and completed the journey to Pioche. It was a profitable trip. The next year he entered a partnership in a mill at Monte Cristo and, the following year, joined in a partnership to establish a lumberyard in Ogden. The young entrepreneur was, by this time, just twenty-four years old.

In 1874, a German convert to Mormonism, Louis Moench, opened a small school in Ogden, and David attended for three months. There he learned the rudiments of spelling, grammar, and mathematics. Some of his later business competitors rued that winter of schooling; they complained that David could figure complex problems more rapidly in his head than they could on paper and that he was always one step ahead of them in making business calculations. At Moench's school, too, David met Bertha Marie Jensen, a Danish convert-immigrant. To court her, he came in from the mill to community dances with his long black hair and a red bandanna handkerchief around his neck—the very picture, Bertha said, of the shaggy mountaineer. The two were married in 1875; Bertha cooked for David and his employees at the mill in the mountains.

Within ten years, David had cleared \$15,000 from his partnerships and expanded with three undertakings: (1) a new retail lumberyard in Ogden, the Eccles Lumber Company; (2) sawmill operations, a shingle mill, retail lumberyard, and general store at Scofield, a coal mining district in eastern Utah which was important to the Denver & Rio Grande Western Railroad; and (3) operation of small mills near Hailey and Bellevue, Idaho, not far from present-day Sun Valley, where he provided lumber to incoming miners and their suppliers. In three years the Wood River location earned Eccles and his partner, A. E. Quantrell, \$50,000. When the mines at Hailey and

Bellevue failed, David set up a mill and general store at Beaver Canyon, near Idaho's Montana border, which provided ties and lumber for the Utah and Northern Railroad, which was under construction between Ogden and the Montana mines. In three years, David and his partner, Howard Spencer, pocketed \$27,000.

Having set a pattern of following railroad construction activity, David then acquired some fir and white pine timber tracts in eastern Oregon, at the time the Oregon Short Line was being completed from Pocatello, Idaho, to Portland, Oregon. On the forks of the Powder River in Oregon, he located a planing mill, shingle mill, and box factory, then a larger lumber mill, an electric plant, and other enterprises. Soon he was opening mills at other locations in Oregon. He encouraged friends and acquaintances in Weber, Ogden, and Cache Valleys in Utah and Idaho to homestead timber tracts in Oregon and work for him. The substantial community of Baker resulted. Eccles and associates built the Sumpter Valley and Mount Hood railroads. All of these operations were profitable, much of the finished lumber being shipped to Utah for use in building houses. In the 1880s, with the arrival of lumber from the Eccles mills in Oregon, Utah construction shifted from adobe and rock to wooden frames.

It is important to recognize that the Oregon enterprises were staffed primarily by Utah people because David knew that they needed good jobs and were imbued with the kind of work ethic that he and his Scottish partners expected.

Shortly prior to his success in Baker, David was admired by the daughter of his partner, John Stoddard. As loyal Mormons, both David Eccles and Ellen Stoddard recognized that he might take a second wife. After a brief courtship, they were married. Bertha continued to reside in Ogden, while Ellen lived in Baker. As with many Scottish entrepreneurs, at least in folklore, David was never one to waste his substance on frills or comforts; and Ellen, as Bertha had done earlier, had to build her own house and make her furniture out of waste wood products from her husband's mills.

David's wife in Ogden, Bertha, bore and reared twelve children; Ellen, in Oregon and later in Logan, bore and reared nine. David put all of these children to work at the earliest possible age. They carried water to railroad crews, nailed boxes, kept accounts, and stacked lumber. David believed strongly in the importance of

physical labor and thought that grammar school provided a sufficient education. As the children grew older, however, David relaxed in these convictions. He sent some of his sons on gospel preaching missions for his church and supported, though at a poverty level, some of them in university training: one graduated from the University of Michigan Law School; others had training at colleges and universities in Utah; another graduated from Columbia University in business and finance, but this was after David had died.

During the twenty-three years between the formation of the Ogden Lumber Company in 1889 and his death in 1912, David Eccles probably earned five or six million dollars from his Oregon enterprises. His principal partners and associates, Charles W. Nibley and John Stoddard, probably earned an equal sum. Nibley invested heavily in beet sugar factories and lost much of his fortune during the disastrous decline that followed World War I. The Stoddards stayed in the Oregon lumber business; and later, one of the sons, Howard, became a prominent banker in Michigan.

David Eccles invested two or three million dollars in Utah businesses and was probably the largest investor in Utah during the 1890s. In some instances, he built new factories, mills, and shops; in others, he came to the rescue of struggling enterprises by paying cash for an interest. He avoided being a "loner," purchasing stock for friends who wished to join him at the same rate at which he had "bought in." He invested in banks, insurance companies, railroads, beet sugar factories, flour mills, construction companies, condensed milk plants, and canneries. In addition to the Nibleys and Stoddards, he was associated in many enterprises with the Dees, Brownings, Wests, Budes, and other prominent Ogden and Logan families. He was a good manager, was able to keep costs down, and his enterprises were successful. Strangely enough, at no time during his career did David Eccles collect a dollar of salary from any of his enterprises; his earnings all came from dividends.

He was obviously a popular man and reluctantly held public office on two occasions in Ogden. During the period of the intense conflict between Mormons and non-Mormons in the late 1880s, he was drafted to serve one term as city councilman and another as mayor. Upon two important occasions he came to the rescue financially of the Mormon Church by lending it large sums of

money at no interest. He consistently tithed all his earnings. Judging by the amount of tithes, he earned something like one hundred thousand dollars each year during the 1890s and more than that each year in the first decade of the 1900s. His most significant transaction was the sale of a majority interest in several beet sugar factories in Utah and Idaho to Henry Havemeyer of the American Sugar Refining Company in New York at an exceptionally favorable price.

David Eccles died of a heart attack in 1912, in Salt Lake City. He was only sixty-two.

In explaining David Eccles—a poor, unschooled immigrant boy who, in Ogden Valley, in the 1860s had few privileges—we note the manner in which he made the best of opportunities, beginning with his riding the construction boom in Ogden after the completion of the Pacific railroads in 1869. He supplied lumber for the construction of railroad branch lines, for business establishments, and for homes, and profited from the ventures. When a similar boom struck eastern Utah with the completion of the Denver & Rio Grande Western Railroad and the opening of the coal mines in Carbon and Emery counties, David repeated the successful approach. David took similar advantage of the stampede of miners to the Wood River district of Idaho, and as this boom began to play out, he profited from the construction of a railroad through eastern Idaho up to Montana. In following an identical procedure in eastern Oregon, he added hundreds of Utah families who signed up for forest land and sold millions of dollars worth of prime lumber which he had acquired for very little cost. He was careful to be law abiding in all of his ventures; he was never fined or jailed; and by cutting everybody in on his enterprises, he made a wide circle of friends and supporters.

Here was one of the West's greatest entrepreneurs, and we should not be surprised to see him emerging in Utah. Utah has been blessed with an abundance of outstanding business leaders: Jonathan Browning, who attained international fame from his inventions and sales of firearms; William Jardine, our first Secretary of Agriculture, and his brother, James T. Jardine; the Coreys, Wattises, and others who, with Eccles, built the Utah Construction Company (later Utah International) that, with the further leadership of David's son Marriner, became the world's largest mining and construction company; John Dern, father of Governor George H. Dern, who organized the Mercur Gold Mining and Milling

Company that built the first cyanide plant for the treatment of gold ores in the United States; Daniel Jackling, who developed the first open-pit copper mine and initiated an enterprise that has been one of the greatest industrial sites in the world; Thomas Kearns, Utah's first senator, whose silver lode in Park City was one of the world's richest deposits; Charles K. Bannister, a young engineer who directed construction of the first long-distance transmission from a manmade dam located in Ogden Canyon to generate electricity and thus inaugurated hydroelectric power in the West; Philo Farnsworth, who invented the key element that made television possible; George A. Steiner, Frank G. Steiner, and Richard Steiner, who propelled a pushcart linen supply agency in downtown Salt Lake City into a \$350-million-a-year world enterprise; and many others whom I could mention—Jon Huntsman, Obert C. Tanner, James Hogle, Robert Rice, Samuel Skaggs, Jim Sorensen, Horace Sorensen, the Dees, the Hinckleys, the Wests, the Nibleys, the Marriotts, J. C. Penney, Zeka Dumke, Minnie Fairbanks, and of course, the newer generation that includes Spencer Eccles.

Not long ago, Professors Marian Winterbottom and David McClelland, using the techniques of the behavioral sciences, sought to isolate the significant factors that explain the emergence of superior peoples. They have found certain themes in common among superior cultures: strong family ties, strong religious incentives, and strong intergroup feeling. In particular, they emphasized the significant role of the mother in implanting high achievement motives in children.¹

According to their findings, high achievement results when mothers encouraged their sons and daughters to be self-reliant at an early age, insisted upon certain high standards of performance, demonstrated warmth and respect for their sons and daughters, and stimulated their children from an early age to be independent and creative. These mothers provided stability and security and encouraged self-confidence. Strangely, the researchers found that the greatest deterrent of high achievement was an ever-present authoritarian father. If this be true, one must give some credit to David's mother,

¹M. Winterbottom, "The Sources of Achievement Motivation in Mothers' Attitudes Toward Independence Training," in *The Achievement Motive*, edited by D. C. McClelland (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1953), 297-304.

Sarah Hutchinson, who, when her husband became half-blind, encouraged David to “go get ’em” at an early age.

In turn, Bertha and Ellen Eccles gave the same encouragement and responsibility to their children, and so we see the phenomenon of Marriner, George, Emma, Royal, LeRoy, Lila, and others achieving magnificently. Taught from an early age to help support the family—to master the problems of running the business and assisting the families with their financial and personal problems or functioning in other professional capacities—they developed qualities of self-reliance, industry, frugality, philanthropy, and leadership. We must acknowledge that there was a female influence that was profound and significant.

Let us therefore give credit to David Eccles, but let us also give credit to his mother, to Bertha and Ellen, and to his daughters and the wives of his sons. This is a day for heralding those associated with David Eccles; this is a day for celebrating a remarkable and imaginative businessman and financier, David Eccles.

LEONARD JAMES ARRINGTON (1917-1999): A BIBLIOGRAPHY

Compiled by David J. Whittaker

*This bibliography corrects and extends two previously published lists: the first in **Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought** in 1978, and the second in **New Views of Mormon History: A Collection of Essays in Honor of Leonard J. Arrington** (Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1987). Efforts to make this bibliography as complete as possible have led to the decision to not include notices about Leonard in public prints or professional publications. Thus, no attempt has been made to include information on (1) his various civic and professional associations, (2) his numerous awards, both professional and honorary, (3) his numerous research grants and fellowships, and (4) his service as an editor (active or as a guest) or his service on various editorial boards of professional organizations or periodicals. While a large number of his addresses are included here, no attempt has been made to identify all his talks or interviews. I am particularly grateful to Harriet Horne Arrington for assistance in preparing this bibliography.*

Items in this bibliography are arranged by type, then by year, and thereunder alphabetically.

Leonard's extensive collection of personal and professional papers has been placed in the Merrill Library, Utah State University, Logan, Utah. No doubt additional items will be discovered as the collection is professionally organized and made available for research.

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“REMEMBER ME IN MY AFFLICTION”: LOUISA BEAMAN AND ELIZA R. SNOW LETTERS, 1849

Todd Compton

ON APRIL 8 AND JULY 14, 1849, Louisa Beaman Young, a plural wife of Brigham Young, wrote two engaging and moving letters to Marinda Hyde, in Kanesville/Hyde's Park, with whom Louisa had lived in Winter Quarters in 1847.¹ These letters provide a lively, valuable description of life in early Salt Lake: after a harsh winter, children are dying of “hoopingcough.” Stores of grain have run out; many families have no bread; and tea, coffee, and sugar are scarce. However, the “Gentile” '49ers, passing through Salt Lake City, are bringing many items that “the Saints” need.²

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¹Louisa Beaman Young, Letter to Marinda Johnson Hyde, Martha Browett Hyde, and Mary Ann Price Hyde, 8 April 1849, Marinda Hyde Papers, holograph, fd. 3, Historical Department Archives, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (hereafter LDS Church Archives); Louisa Beaman Young and Eliza R. Snow, Letter to Marinda Hyde, 14 July 1849, Marinda Hyde Papers, photocopy of holograph, location of original unknown, LDS Church Archives.

Polygamy, a practice still not ten years old for most Mormons, is practiced openly in 1849 Salt Lake. Brigham Young had married forty-four women by 1849, though not all were connubial wives;³ Louisa's letter reports that she shares a house with five sister-wives, while "Mr Young" lives a half mile away. She counts twenty-seven in "the family" and her sister-wives are "the girls." Morale in Salt Lake seems to be high, despite hardships, and the wives of Brigham and Heber C. Kimball regard each other with sincere affection. She mentions a gathering at Heber Kimball's home that is typical of frequent social get-togethers that sustained the Latter-day Saint women in primitive living conditions.

These letters also give us a welcome if limited glimpse into the life of Marinda Johnson Hyde Smith in Kanesville. Marinda, who had married future Mormon apostle Orson Hyde in 1834, had seen her marital circle enlarge in 1843 with the addition of plural wives Martha Browett and Mary Ann Price. The Hyde family was apparently living near Mary Ann Price's brother-in-law, Richard Bentley, in Hyde Park, near Kanesville. Marinda had also been a sister wife of Louisa in Nauvoo, for she had married Joseph Smith in April 1842.⁴

²For women in early Salt Lake City, see the diaries of Louisa's friends, Eliza R. Snow (Huntington Library, San Marino, California), Patty Sessions (LDS Church Archives), and Zina Huntington Young (LDS Church Archives, Zina Card Brown collection). Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, ed., *The Personal Writings of Eliza Roxcy Snow* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1995); Donna Toland Smart, ed., *Mormon Midwife: The 1846-1888 Diaries of Patty Bartlett Sessions* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1997); Marilyn Higbee, ed., "A Weary Traveler": The 1848-50 Diary of Zina D. H. Young," *Journal of Mormon History* 19 (Fall 1993): 86-125; Kenneth Godfrey, Audrey M. Godfrey, and Jill Mulvay Derr, eds., *Women's Voices: An Untold History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Books, 1982), 243-86; and general bibliography on early Salt Lake City in James B. Allen and Glen Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Books, 1992), 723-24.

³Jeffery Ogden Johnson, "Determining and Defining 'Wife': the Brigham Young Households," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 20 (Fall 1987): 57-70; Kate Carter, ed., *Brigham Young: His Wives and Family* (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, n.d.); James H. Crockwell, *Pictures and Biographies of Brigham and His Wives* (Salt Lake City: Crockwell, n.d.).

⁴Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register (hereafter cited as

For such an important woman, Marinda is surprisingly underdocumented. I know of no holograph by her and have found only four letters to her, the three printed here plus another by Eliza R. Snow. Yet her life can be given a rough outline.

Born 28 June 1815 to John Johnson and Mary Elsa Jacobs Johnson in Pomfret, Windsor, Vermont, the seventh of eight children, Marinda moved with her family to Ohio in 1818, and most of the family converted to Mormonism in 1830 and 1831; Marinda was baptized in April 1831. Joseph Smith and his family lived with the Johnsons in late 1831, when he and Sidney Rigdon were tarred and feathered. On 4 September 1834, Marinda married Orson Hyde and eventually gave birth to ten children. Only five months after the wedding, in February 1835, Orson became an apostle with two of Marinda's brothers, Luke and Lyman Johnson—both excommunicated in 1838. For the rest of Marinda's life, Orson was often gone on missions. In 1838 they moved to Missouri. Orson became disillusioned with Joseph Smith, signed a critical affidavit with Thomas Marsh, returned to Mormonism in 1839, then moved to Nauvoo and regained his apostleship.

Endowment Register) and family group sheets, Family History Library, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City; Susan Easton Black, *Membership of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830-1848* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Religious Studies Center, 1989); both this source and the family group sheets need to be checked against primary documents whenever possible; Edward Tullidge, *The Women of Mormondom* (New York: Tullidge & Crandall, 1877), 405-6; Lydia D. Alder, "Death of Mrs. Marinda A. Hyde," *Woman's Exponent* 14 (1 April 1886): 165; Mary Ann Price Hyde, "Autobiography," 1880, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, also available at Utah State Historical Society; "History of Orson Hyde" (autobiography), *Deseret News* 5, 12 May 1858, 45, 49; Marvin Hill, "Orson Hyde" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1955); Lyndon Cook, *The Revelations of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Provo, Utah: Seventies Bookstore, 1981), 109-10; Howard Barron, *Orson Hyde: Missionary-Apostle-Colonizer* (Salt Lake City: Horizon, 1977); Todd Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997), 228-53; Scott Faulring, *An American Prophet's Record* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989), 396; Joseph Smith Affidavit Books, LDS Church Archives, 1:15, 4:15, Daniel Bachman, "A Study of the Mormon Practice of Plural Marriage before the Death of Joseph Smith" (M.A. thesis, Purdue University, 1975), 348, #53. George Symonds made a sketch of Marinda's house in Kanesville, Symonds Collection, Council Bluffs Library.

In April 1840 he left on an extended mission to Palestine; Marinda became Joseph Smith's plural wife during this absence. Orson returned to Nauvoo in December 1842, and Marinda stood as witness when he married Martha Browett and Mary Ann Price in early 1843. He would later marry five more women.

Marinda and Orson left Nauvoo for Winter Quarters in late May 1846 where Orson became presiding elder. Marinda lived in Kanesville/Hyde's Park until 1852, when she and Orson crossed the plains. She lived in Salt Lake City while he helped colonize Carson City, Nevada, in 1856 and Sanpete County, Utah, in 1858. In 1868 she became president of the Seventeenth Ward Relief Society, a position she held until her death on 24 March 1886. She was a dedicated temple worker in her later life and served on the board of the Deseret Hospital. In 1870, Marinda and Orson, who had lived apart for some years, divorced.

Despite the welcome light these letters shed on Marinda, they are most important for the insight they give us into the endearing personality and tragic life of Louisa Beaman, Joseph Smith's first plural wife in Nauvoo.⁵ Born 27 February 1815 to Alvah Beaman and Sally Burtt Beaman in Livonia, Livingston County, New York, Louisa was the seventh of eight children. Alvah became one of Joseph's earliest disciples, once helping him hide the golden plates. In 1836, the Beamans moved to Kirtland, where Alvah died in November 1837. In July of the following year Louisa, her mother, and some siblings moved to Missouri briefly, then traveled to Illinois in 1839.

⁵See Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness*, 55-70, for a longer biography of Louisa. On 9 February 1851, George A. Smith, the leader of the Iron Mission, named its first settlement "Fort Louisa," although it soon became Parowan. John D. Lee, the mission scribe, wrote, "It was in honor of the first Woman who listened to the light & voice of Revelation — & yielded obedience to the Seal of the covenant [polygamy], but since has taken her Exit to the world of Sperits, & for this Noble act, her Name is held in honorable remembrance in the History of the Saints." John D. Lee, Journal, 1850-53, 9 February 9, MS 1253 item 3, pp. 212-13, LDS Church Archives; Gustive Larson, ed., "Journal of the Iron County Mission, John D. Lee Clerk," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 20 (1952): 353-83, 375-76, 364. I argue that Joseph Smith had married a little-known plural wife some eight years earlier in Kirtland. *In Sacred Loneliness*, 25-42; Compton, "Fanny Alger Smith Custer: Mormonism's First Plural Wife?" *Journal of Mormon History* 22 (Spring 1996): 174-207.

Louisa was living with her sister, Mary Beaman Noble, and brother-in-law, Joseph Bates Noble, when she married Joseph Smith on 5 April 1841, thus helping to usher in the polygamy era in Nauvoo history.⁶ She moved in the inner circles of Nauvoo's elite women and became a close friend of Joseph's other plural wives, especially Eliza R. Snow Smith Young, Zina Huntington Jacobs Smith Young, and Marinda Hyde Smith. Three months after Joseph's death, Louisa married Brigham Young on 19 September 1844;⁷ about eight of Joseph's widows, including Eliza Snow and Zina Huntington, also married Young as "proxy" wives (they were sealed to Joseph for eternity, with Young standing proxy for Joseph, then were sealed to Young for time).

After Louisa left Nauvoo in February 1846, her whereabouts can be traced by the journals of her close friends Eliza Snow and Patty Sessions. She reportedly gave birth to twin sons, Joseph and Hyrum, in early 1846; they must have died as infants.⁸ On 9 January 1847 in Winter Quarters, she bore Moroni, who also lived only a few months.⁹ Louisa lived with Marinda Hyde for a time in Winter Quarters, and participated in Eliza Snow's and Patty Sessions's blessing, prophesying, tongue-speaking meetings while there, a high point in Mormon spirituality.¹⁰

⁶Andrew Jenson, *Historical Record* (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson Publishing, 1887), 6:221, 232; Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness*, 59; Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery, *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1984), 322. Some have suggested that there might have been other plural marriages before Louisa's in Nauvoo, but there are no dated marriages before hers.

⁷Brigham Young, Journal, 19 September 1844, LDS Church Archives and Marriott Library; Johnson, "Determining and Defining 'Wife,'" 65.

⁸Susa Young Gates and Mabel Sanborn, "Brigham Young Genealogy," *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 11 (April 1920): 49-55; Leonard Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), 420.

⁹Patty Sessions, Journal, 8 January 1847, in Smart, *Mormon Midwife*, 69; Eliza Snow, Journal, 9 January 1847, in Beecher, *The Personal Writings*, 151.

¹⁰See, for example, Patty Sessions, Journal, 29 May and 1-3 June 1847, in Smart, *Mormon Midwife*, 82-84; and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, "Women in Winter Quarters," in her *Eliza and Her Sisters* (Salt Lake City: Aspen Books, 1991), 75-98.

On about 26 May 1848, Louisa, eight months pregnant, left Winter Quarters for Salt Lake; while crossing the plains, on 23 July, she bore another set of twins, named Alvah and Alma.¹¹ At this point, Louisa's letters to Marinda at Kaneshville continue her story. The individuals she names are explained in the biographical register at the end of the article.

Salt Lake Valley

April 8. 1849

Dear Sisters Marinda. Martha. and Mary Ann.

I imbrace the preasant oppertunity of answering your letter bearing date Oct. 11. which was kindly recieved by me, I was truely thankful to get your letter and ^{hear} that you were all alive and well for I consider that as great a blessing as we can have. with out we can not injoy any thing, my health is quite good at preasant their is times when I am trouble[d] with that affliction that I was troubled [with] while at your house. I am led to think at times their is not much else but sorrow and affliction in this world for me, the next day after I arrived in the valley my babes were both taken sik with ^{the} bowell complaint the canker set in and on the 11. of Oct I was called upon ^{to} give up the oldest one and his litle spirett took its flight to join with his brothers and father in Heaven, my anxiety was all turned towards the other that was living, the next day after this one was was burried the other commenced to get better. he got so that he seamed well and grew flashy [fleshy] as fast as I ever saw a child and I even ["do" erased?] deared [dared] to hope that I should raise him but I know [no] sooner hoped then [than] my hopes were all blasted one day all in a moment as it were he was taken down again with the same complaint, and all I could do both buy [by] faith and works, did not seame to do any good and on the 16. of Nov. ^{he} breathed his last and I was again left alone. you that have been mothers ~~can better~~ and losst children can better immagine my feelings then I can disscribe them¹² I had fondley hoped I should raise

¹¹John D. Lee, Journal, July 23, 1848, see Robert Glass Cleland and Juanita Brooks, eds., *A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee 1848-1876*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), 1:65.

¹²See Nancy Dye and Daniel Smith, "Mother Love and Infant Death, 1750-1920," *Journal of American History* 73 (1986): 329-53. Louisa's letters

them they looked verry much alike indeed, their ^{eyes} were jest of a colour, I called them Alvah and Alma but they are gone, and I must be reconciled to the will of God; and I desire ever to acknowledge his hand in all things I look forward to the time when I shall again behold them and claspe them to my bosome, will not my joy be full, I feel as though it would; I desire to bear all of my afflictions with patience, realising that my Heavenly father knows better what is for my good then myself, and I feel to submit all things in to his hands and say his will be done and not mine.¹³

I prosume you would like to hear how we are prospering their has been a good many deaths since we arrived here it has been mostly amoung children; babes that have had the hoopingcough, verry few grown persons have died, we do not begin to have the sikness to contend with we have had heretofore the winter has been rather severe, this winter has been much harder then last winter but it would not have seamed hard had we have been prepared for it.¹⁴ As it regards provishion it is geting rather scarce some families are out of bread at the presant time it will be nothing strange if we should ^{see} rather heard [hard] times before harvest¹⁵ the Valley is a pleasant place I like it much it will seame more so when we get well to living, Mr Young has been quite sik for a few days he is a little better to day I am living about a half ^a mile from him at the preasant when we get settled for the sum^mer he will live near us I am now living in the house with Clarrissa, Susan, Zina, Margaret, and Emeline, we often speak of you and wish you were here but must wait patently untill

do not support Dye's and Smith's argument that women grieved for their children less than in modern times as a response to frequent infant death.

¹³On 15 April 1849, accompanied by Zina D. H. Young and nine other women, probably wives of Brigham, Louisa visited these twins' graves. Zina D. H. Young, Journal, LDS Church Archives.

¹⁴For the harsh winter of late 1848, see Brigham Madsen, *Gold Rush Sojourners* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), 6-9.

¹⁵Cf. Eliza Partridge Lyman, Journal, 8 April 1849, LDS Church Archives, also in Godfrey, Godfrey, and Derr, *Women's Voices*, 248: "During the past winter we have had some sickness. My Baby was very sick with whooping cough. Many children around us died with it. My brother Edward also had it, they are both quite well of it now. We are intending to have our houses moved out of the fort onto our lots in town. Cooked the last of our flour to day and have no prospect of getting any more untill after harvest."

you come, I could wish it might be this year but I heardly expect it, I can not tell you how much I want to see you all, but my mind often wanders back to ^{the} hours I have spent in your house and of the kindness I have recieved from you all, and when I think of it I feel greatful to you and to my Heavenly father and I feel to pray that the choicest of heavens blessing may rest upon you, I hope you have the society of sister Powers still; I want to see her much I felt thankful that you had been friends to her for I think her worthy of your friendship, sister P mentioned in her letter she drank a cup of tea occasionally for me I am quite glad she does for it is verry seldom that I get the chance to drink a cup for myself, tea and, coffee, and shugar is verry scarce with us know [now], their are many thing[s] I would like to write but pen and paper would fail the bearer of this letter can tell more than I can write br Thomson will call at your house and he will tell you how things are a going on here, he has lived at Mr Young[’s] ever since we left winter Quarters, Marth I delivered the letter you gave me to you[r] brothers wife ¹⁶ you doubtless have herd of the unhappy fate of you[r] brother before this. it was a sad tale to hear his wife has gone with the company that has gone to ^{the} gold mines in hopes to obtain his bones as I have understood; ¹⁷ I must soon close give my love to all of the children and kiss them for me tell Laura, Emily, and Frank to not forget ^{me} my warmest respects to br Hyde, br Luke and wife br Bently and wife, Mother Browett, Charls and Elsa [Price] and all that inquires after me, I will here mention that Lucy S.[?] ¹⁸ and Emily P. have each of them a young daughter, Manerva White a son, Artimisia a daughter sister Noble[’s] health is verry ¹⁹ this spring, Eliza Snow[’s] health is rather poor this spring, Clarra D.[?] ²⁰ has just come and wishes to be kindly remembered to you allso the girls I am living with, I want you to write every oppertunity. May the Lord bless you is my prayr from

¹⁶See Daniel and Elizabeth Browett in the Biographical Register.

¹⁷Louisa may be referring to Amasa Lyman’s “gold mission” to California, which left Salt Lake in the spring of 1849. See Amasa Lyman, *Journal*, LDS Church Archives; Kenneth Davies, *Mormon Gold: The Story of the California Mormon Argonauts* (Salt Lake City: Olympus, 1984), 71-73.

¹⁸Possibly “D.,” therefore, Lucy Ann Decker Young.

¹⁹The line ends here. Probably Louisa forgot to add “poor.”

²⁰Brigham Young married three candidates: Clarissa Caroline Decker, Clarissa Ross Chase, and Clarissa Blake.

your sincere friend (excuse my poor writing and mistakes which are many!) Louisa

City of the Great Salt Lake.

July 14. 1849.

Dear Sister Hyde.

I embrace the pleasant opportunity with pleasure, of communicating a few lines to you to inform ^{you} how we are prospering, my health is quite poor this summer I commenced the first of May to doctor my breast, at times²¹ it is quite painful which makes me feel very miserable indeed; most of the time I can do a little we are trying to draw it to a head it get[s] along slow, how often I wish your brother Luke was here I think I should have more confidence in him than I have in those that are here, I was greatly in hopes I should hear that he, together with your family were coming on this season but I hear you are not, so I am disappointed, but hope if it is for the best [best], you will come on next season, times has been rather hard [hard] here for some time since, there has been some families out of bread for a long time, but I feel as though I had no reason to complain I have not set down to but one meal with out bread, and that went first rate yes. I feel as though we had been blessed they are a thrashing wheat now and we shall have better times; there is not much sickness in the place at present the girls are all well I live in a family at present numbering 27. Mr Young[']s health is quite good at present, Sister Young[']s health is better than it was last winter, there was a number of us visiting together at br Kimball[']s the not long since we enjoyed ourselves much, we often speak of you all when we are together and want to see you much, I have not forgotten how well I enjoyed the mellons and a good many other thing[s] while at you[r] house and I fondly hope we may enjoy many more such treats together in this valley I hear that Mr Lyon is dead, I am glad to hear she²² is coming

²¹Eliza Partridge Lyman, Journal, 18 May 1850, LDS Church Archives, referred to Louisa's ailment as "cancer in the breast." Attempted treatment would, of course, have been entirely ineffectual, nor would there have been any kind of remotely effective pain management.

²²Sylvia Sessions (Lyon Smith Kimball Clark), wife of Windsor Lyon. Her mother, referred to just below, was Patty Bartlett (Sessions Smith

on next season when you write to her pleas to kindly remember me to her, tell her I have not forgotten her ^{her} mother will write to her all the news br Snow[']s family are all well at preasant, sister Nobles health is verry poor indeed, she sets up but a verry little br Noble and the children are usaly well, we have had a great pleanty of the emigreants to visit us of late it seamed quite like old times to have the gentiles in our midst again, but I hope we shall not be troubled with them long, they have been a blessing to us in one respect they have ~~been a~~ and are, a beering [bearing] many good thing[s] with the saint[s] that they realy stood in great kneed of.²³ pleas give my respects to br Hyde tell him the letter arrived safe to hand. which was directed to me, which I gave immediately to Mr Youg. after opeⁿing it. give my best love to Martha and Mary Ann. I want to see them much allso to the children kiss them for me, and tell them not to forget me give much love, to Sister Powers if their [there] tell her I want to see her verry much indeed. I greatly hope she is on her way to this place, br Egan has not arrived yet I shall exspect to hear from you all when he does come, I wrote to you and sister Powers buy the last mail which you probably have recieved ere this, remember me in my affliction and pray for me. I give way for sister Eliza. from your sincere ^{friend}, Louisa.

[in the margin of the first page] My respects to all that inquire after me, the girls that you are acquainted with all send their love [to] you Marth and Mary Ann

Beginning with the salutation, Eliza R. Snow's style presents a striking contrast to Louisa Beaman's. Eliza is formal, restrained, elegant; Louisa had been colloquial, newsy, warm and engaging, if at times serious. Her unstudied prose captures the rhythm of her speech ("a trying," "a comeing"), while Eliza is a polished writer. Like Louisa's letters, this missive is addressed to Marinda Hyde at Kanesville.

Dearly beloved Sister Hyde,

Sister Loisa has kindly allotted me a place, and I am happy in improving the opportunity of stirring up your pure mind by way of remembrance I had fondly anticipated

Parry).

²³See Madsen, *Gold Rush Sojourners*.

your arrival in the Valley this season, but the prospect is blasted by the late arrival of the United States Mail, which is also confirm'd by verbal information concerning the great flood of gentile immigration. Prest. Young says he is perfectly satisfied with the course the brethren have pursued remaining there for the present; if by staying they do not imbibe an adhesiveness to the place that will have a tendency [?] to hinder [?] too long. Suffice it to say I wish to see you and family here; at present beyond the reach of mobocracy and despotism. You would be delighted with the novel situation & the romantic scenery; & when you come, you will be astonished that our brethren should accomplish as much on this interior isolated spot, in the way of convenience & the comforts of living. But you know the saints, thro' the blessing of God on their ever energetic exertions, possess an extraordinary creative faculty. Since the arrival of the Mail, I have enjoy'd a great treat in the perusal of the "Frontier Guardian". Papers here are like angels [?] visits. You will obtain all information respecting us that will be interesting to you thro' verbal mediums, much more satisfactorily than I could write, & I shall not attempt it; but for the perusal of your daughters, will transcribe a short Poem which I wrote for Prest. Y.s daughters, Elizabeth & Vilate; which they sang at the table, having provided supper for their father & mother on their first arrival in the Valley²⁴

THE CHILDREN'S SALUTATION

Welcome Father, welcome Mother—
 To the Valley you have come—
 Welcome to your children's table—
 Welcome to your children's home.

Yes, dear Parents, you are welcome!

²⁴Printed in Eliza R. Snow, *Poems: Religious, Historical, and Political* (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, and London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1856), 194-95. A note preceding the poem explains: "Two of President B. Young's daughters, Elizabeth Ellsworth and Vilate Decker, came to Salt Lake Valley in 1847. President Young removed with his family in 1848. On the evening of his arrival, his daughters with their husbands, having prepared a supper, after seating their parents at table, with a few friends, sang the 'SALUTATION,' which had been written for the occasion." The poem is dated Sept. 20, 1848. Cf. Arrington, *Brigham Young*, 166.

We are happy now with you!
Here's our husbands—here's our children—
Here is father & mother too.

Time has roll'd with heavy motion
Since we left you far away;
But the past is all forgotten
In the pleasure of this day.

Chorus. Yes, dear &c.

All the sad and lonely feelings
Which our bosoms have opprest,
Vanish like the shades of midnight
Being with your presence blest.

Chorus. Yes, dear Parents &c.

Now our pulses beat more freely—
Now the Valley looks more fair—
Nature's self receives new vigor—
Sweeter fragrance fills the air.

Chorus. Yes, dear Parents &c.

May you in this pleasant Valley
Be supplied with ev'ry good;
And the crown of ev'ry blessing—
Health & peace & quietude.

Chorus. Yes, dear Parents &c.

Should you see br. & sis. Markham please present my well wishes to them, best respects to your husband & family. Will you not write me?

Yours affectionately Eliza R. Snow

Louisa's breast cancer worsened throughout the rest of 1849. On 10 December, Patty Sessions wrote in her journal, "as I came home I caled and see Louizas breast . . ." ²⁵ On 27 February 1850, Zina Huntington Young wrote, "Sister Louisa Beman viseted me. It was her birth day. She was 3__.

²⁵Smart, *Mormon Midwife*, 140.

Sistir Snow Gray Presendia & Caroline Clary Chase sister S buried her eldest son yesterday 7 or 8 years old. It was agreeable yet lonely. It was the last time Louisa was ever out of her room." Death brought her sufferings to an end on 16 May 1850 at age thirty-five.²⁶

BIOGRAPHICAL REGISTER

In early polygamy, plural wives were often not referred to by their married names, perhaps a holdover from the secretiveness of the Nauvoo era. Eliza R. Snow was most commonly called by her birth name, and sometimes signed her name Eliza R. Snow Smith, but never, to my knowledge, Eliza R. Snow Young, though she was Brigham Young's wife for thirty-two years. In this register, I list women by their full birth and marriage names with "see" references to earlier married names or their given names if the context does not make a surname clear. All family group sheets cited are in the LDS Family History Library, Salt Lake City.

Bentley, Elizabeth Price, was born 29 June 1821 in Gloucestershire County, England, the daughter of William and Mary Ann Price and the sister of Mary Ann Price Hyde. In April 1843 the family arrived in Nauvoo; she married Richard Bentley (*q.v.*) on 9 September. Three children were born in Kanesville: Emma in May 1847, Mary in July 1849, and William August 1851. They crossed the plains in 1852, and settled in Nephi, Juab County, Utah, in fall 1853, where Annie was born in 1854. Richard was called to help settle and be bishop in Carson City, Ormsby County, Nevada; Franklin was born there in 1856. The family returned to Utah in 1857; Joseph was born in Salt Lake City in 1859. After moving to St. George, Utah, Elizabeth died on 6 December 1882.

Bentley, Richard, was Orson Hyde's employee and apparently his next-door neighbor in Hyde Park/Kanesville. Richard, a tea merchant, brick-maker, and teacher, was born 1 October 1820 in Great Aycliff, Durham, England, immigrated in 1841 on a ship of Mormons, was baptized in Nauvoo in February 1842, and married Elizabeth Price (*q.v.*) in 1843. He served a mission to England, 1860-64, then the Bentleys settled in St. George, Washington County, Utah, where Richard was a merchant and the city's mayor, 1878-82 and 1888-90. Two years after Elizabeth's death in 1882, Richard married Hannah Webster. He died on 24 March 1906, at St. George. See Endowment Register; Black, *Membership of the Church*; Kate Carter, ed., *Our Pioneer Heritage* (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers,

²⁶Historian's Office Journal, LDS Church Archives; Eliza Partridge Lyman, Journal, 18 May 1850.

1958), 18:173; Kate Carter, ed., *Heart Throbs of the West* (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1947), 7:370.

Browett, Daniel, was born 18 December 1810 in Dukesbury, Gloucestershire, England. He joined the Church, served as a scribe in Church conferences, then emigrated to Nauvoo in February 1841. A member of the Mormon Battalion in July 1846, he crossed the continent, and after being released from duty in 1847 in San Diego, traveled northward to Sutter's Mill in 1848. While pioneering a route through the Sierra Nevadas to Utah with Ezra H. Allen and Henderson Cox, he, Allen, and Cox were apparently killed by Indians on 27 June 1848. Daniel Tyler, with a second group of returning Battalion soldiers, describes the discovery of the bodies at what was later called Tragedy Springs: "Some one picked up a blood-stained arrow, and after a little search other bloody arrows were found, and near the spring the remains of a camp fire . . . Blood on rocks was also discovered, and a leather purse with gold dust in it was picked up and recognized as having belonged to Brother Daniel [Browett]. . . . A short distance from the spring was found a place almost eight feet square, where the earth had lately been removed, and upon digging therein they found the dead bodies of their beloved brothers, Browett, Allen, and Cox . . . Their bodies were stripped naked, terribly mutilated and all buried in one shallow grave." Daniel Tyler, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War* (Chicago: Rio Grande Press, 1964), 335-37. Jonathan Holmes wrote, "We fixed the grave as well as we could . . . It was a time of solemnity and mourning to think that the man that was to be our Leader [Daniel Browett] to Salt lake was now lying Dead. He was like a father to me & we morn his loss." Diary, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, qtd. in Norma Baldwin Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion: U.S. Army of the West, 1846-1848* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1996), 208; see also Ricketts, *Tragedy Spring and the Pouch of Gold* (Sacramento, Calif.: Ricketts Publishing Co., 1983); Endowment Register; Black, *Membership of the Church*; Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage* 5:195.

Browett, Elizabeth Harris. See Johnston, Elizabeth Harris Browett.

Browett, Martha Puller (also "Mother Browett"), was born 4 June 1779 in England and married Thomas Browett before 1809. Two of her children, Daniel and the younger Martha (later Hyde), were born in 1810 and 1819 in Tewksbury, Gloucestershire, England. She, Daniel, and Martha reached Nauvoo in 1841 and Utah in 1852. She died in Salt Lake City 15 August 1865. Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage* 5:195.

Chase, Emily Matilda Hyde, Orson's and Marinda Hyde's third child, was born 13 December 1839, in Nauvoo, married George Chase in 1854, and died 9 December 1909.

Clark, Sylvia Sessions Lyon Smith Kimball, daughter of Patty Bartlett Sessions Smith Parry (*q.v.*) and David Sessions, was born 31 July 1818, in Andover Surplus, Oxford County, Maine and married Windsor Lyon in 1838 in Missouri. In Nauvoo, Windsor became a leading merchant. She was sealed to Joseph Smith on 8 February 1842, then married Heber C. Kimball in the same session in which Louisa married Brigham Young in September 1844. Both plural sealings were polyandrous. When the Mormons left Illinois, Sylvia and Windsor moved to Iowa where Windsor died in 1849. To the dismay of her family and friends in Utah, Sylvia did not come to Utah, though her brother Perrigrine traveled east to help her move. Instead, she married a non-Mormon, banker Ezekiel Clark, 1 January 1850, bore three children, left Clark in 1854, and brought her four living children to Bountiful, Utah, where she died 13 April 1882. Perrigrine Sessions, *Journal*, 1 January 1850, LDS Church Archives; Brigham Young, *Journal*, 19 September 1844; unsigned affidavit, Smith Affidavit Books, 1:60, 4:62, Bachman, "A Study," 350, #77, Josephine Rosetta Lyon Fisher, Smith Affidavit Books; Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness*, 174-202.

Clarrissa, probably Young, Clarissa Decker.

Decker, Vilate Young, daughter of Brigham Young and his first wife, Miriam Works Young, was born 1 June 1830 in Mendon, Monroe County, New York. She married Charles Franklin Decker in 1847 in Winter Quarters, and died in 1902 in Lewisville, Jefferson County, Idaho. Charles Decker's two sisters, Lucy Ann Decker (*q.v.*) and Clarissa Caroline Decker (*q.v.*), both married Brigham Young, making Charles both Brigham's son-in-law and brother-in-law.

Duncan, America Morgan Clark Johnson, wife of Luke Johnson (*q.v.*), was born in 1824 in Richmond, Virginia, was baptized in 1842, and married Luke in 1847 at Council Bluffs. They had eight children; they named their first daughter Susan Marinda Johnson after Luke's sister, Marinda Johnson Hyde. After Luke's death in 1861, America married Homer Duncan in 1870. She died in 1900 in Ogden, Weber County, Utah, where a number of her siblings had settled.

Egan, Howard, was born 15 June 1815 in Tullemore, King's County, Ireland, worked as a sailor, settled in Salem, Massachusetts, and married Tamshon Parsely in 1838. In 1842 the Egans were baptized and moved to Nauvoo. Howard accompanied John D. Lee to Santa Fe, Mexico, in 1846 to receive pay from the Mormon Battalion, then returned to Winter Quarters. He crossed the plains four times, the first time with the pioneer company of 1847. Louisa mentions his third trip, in which he arrived in Salt Lake City with the mail toward the end of July 1849. He made many pony express and mail trips to California. In 1851, after a trip to California, he killed James

M. Monroe for seducing his wife, who bore Monroe's child, and was acquitted by a Mormon jury. He died 16 March 1878 in Salt Lake City. William Egan, ed., *Pioneering the West, 1846 to 1878, Major Howard Egan's Diary* (Richmond, Utah: Howard R. Egan Estate, 1917), 299-300; Hosea Stout, *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout*, edited by Juanita Brooks, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1964), 2:404, 407, 748; Andrew Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: A. Jenson, 1901-36), 4:699-700.

Ellsworth, Elizabeth Young, daughter of Brigham Young and his first wife, Miriam Works, was born 25 September 1825 in Port Byron, Cayuga, New York, married Edmund Ellsworth in 1842 in Nauvoo, and died in 1903 in Lewisville, Jefferson County, Idaho.

Emeline. See Young, Emmeline Free.

Emily. See Chase, Emily Hyde.

Emily P. See Young, Emily Dow Partridge Smith.

Hyde, Frank Henry, Marinda Johnson Hyde's fifth child, was born 23 January 1846, in Nauvoo. He married Mary O'Neal in 1876, and Marcia Hanks, and died in Salt Lake in 1908.

Hyde, Martha Rebecca Browett, was born 22 June 1819, in Tewksbury, Gloucester, England, the child of Thomas Browett and Martha Puller Browett. She joined the Church and emigrated in February 1841 with her brother Daniel, her mother, and an unnamed brother. In February or March 1843 she became Orson Hyde's first plural wife. Martha, with her mother, crossed the plains in 1852, separated from Orson Hyde the same year, worked as a seamstress in Salt Lake City, and died in 1904, after thirty years of blindness. Endowment Register; Orson Hyde, Affidavit, in Joseph Fielding Smith, *Blood Atonement and the Origin of Plural Marriage* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1950), 89; Mary Ann Price Hyde, "Autobiography," Bancroft Library and Utah State Historical Society; D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy, Origins of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature, 1994), 552; Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage* 5:195; Black, *Membership of the Church*. See also Daniel Browett.

Hyde, Mary Ann Price, Orson Hyde's second plural wife, was born 5 June 1816 in Lea, Gloucestershire, England, to William and Mary Ann Price. She was baptized in 1840 and emigrated to Nauvoo, probably with some of her family, including siblings Elizabeth and William. She married Hyde in April 1843 after initial hesitations and bore a daughter, Urania. She lived at Kaneshville until 1850, when she crossed the plains. In 1858 she accompanied Hyde to Spring City, in Sanpete County, but was greatly distressed at leaving Marinda. After Orson died in 1878, she lived in Spring City with

two other Hyde widows until her death 16 June 1900. *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia* 4:645; Smith, *Blood Atonement*, 89; Mary Ann Price Hyde, Autobiography, Bancroft Library; Family Group Sheets. See also Richard and Elizabeth Price Bentley.

Johnson, America Morgan Clark. See Duncan, America.

Johnson, Luke, Marinda Hyde's brother, was born 3 November 1807 in Pomfret, Windsor County, Vermont, was baptized 10 May 1831, and in November 1832 married Susan Poteet, with whom he had ten children. He served missions in the eastern states, participated in Zion's Camp in 1834, was called as an apostle in 1835, and was excommunicated as a dissenter in December 1838. He moved to Virginia where he taught school and studied medicine, then was a doctor in Kirtland. Orson Hyde rebaptized him 8 March 1846, but he was not restored to the Quorum of the Twelve. After his wife died in September 1846, he married America Morgan Clark 3 March 1847. He crossed the plains with the pioneer company of July 1847, apparently returned to Winter Quarters, then settled in St. John, Tooele County, Utah, in 1858, where he served as a bishop. He died 9 December 1861 in Marinda Hyde's Salt Lake home. Cook, *Revelations of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 110-11; "History of Luke Johnson," *Deseret News* 8 (1853): 53-54, 57; *Millennial Star* 26 (31 December 1864): 834-36; *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia* 1:85.

Johnston, Elizabeth Harris Browett, was born 11 June 1814 (Endowment Register) or 15 April 1817 in Santurs, England, married Daniel Browett, gave birth to Moroni 25 November 1845 (he died in Winter Quarters November 1846), and reached Utah 24 September 1847, no doubt hoping to meet Daniel, who had been killed in June. Louisa's letter suggests that Elizabeth traveled to northern California to try to reclaim the body. She subsequently married a Mr. Johnston. Black, *Membership of the Church*; Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West* 8:419; Ricketts, *Tragedy Spring*, 28-29; *Mormon Battalion*, 211, 341.

Kimball, Heber Chase, born 1801, died 1868, was Brigham's close friend, first counselor in his First Presidency, and the husband of thirty-nine wives in 1849. The large Kimball and Young families were very close. Stanley Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball: Mormon Patriarch and Pioneer* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981).

Laura. See Miner, Laura Hyde.

Lyon, Windsor, husband of Sylvia Sessions Lyon Smith Kimball Clark, was born 8 February 1809, in Orwell, Addison County, Vermont, the son of Aaron Lyon and Roxana Palmer Lyon. He was baptized in 1832, married Sylvia 21 April 1838 in Missouri, moved to Nauvoo in 1839, and became a prominent shopkeeper and druggist. Of their six children, only Josephine

lived past childhood. Windsor was disfellowshipped in November 1842 and rebaptized by Heber Kimball in January or February 1846. According to family tradition, he married a plural wife, Susan Gee. He, Sylvia, and possibly Susan stayed in Iowa where he died of "consumption" in January 1849. Nauvoo High Council, Minutes, LDS Church Archives and Marquardt Collection, Marriott Library; Perrigrine Sessions, Journal, 18 January 1846, LDS Church Archives; Enoch Tripp, Journal, 1 February 1846, LDS Church Archives; Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness*, 177-93.

Lyon, Sylvia Sessions. See Clark, Sylvia Sessions Lyon.

Margaret: Brigham Young married two Margarets, Margaret Pierce and Margaret Alley (*q.v.*).

Markham, Hannah Hogaboom/Hogleboon, was born 1 April 1804, in Manchester, Bennington County, Vermont, married Stephen Markham (*q.v.*) by 1826, and traveled across Iowa with her husband and three sons, Warren, Whiting, and David. Eliza R. Snow accompanied them but, because of personal conflicts, left the family at Winter Quarters. In Utah, Hannah separated from her husband, took her sons to California, remarried, and died in 1892. Eliza R. Snow, Diary, 15 April 1844-19 April 1847; Beecher, *The Personal Writings of Eliza R. Snow*, 245, 308.

Markham, Stephen, was born in 1800 in Avon, Livingston County, New York, and married Hannah Hogaboom (*q.v.*) by 1826; they had at least three children. He was baptized in 1837, served as a bodyguard to Joseph Smith in Nauvoo, married Prudence Fenner in January 1846, went to Utah with the pioneer company of 1847, returned to Council Bluffs, and brought Hannah and her children to Utah, where they separated. He also married Mary Curtis Houghton (1850, fourteen children), Martha Jane Boice Wyott (1852, one child), Anna Mathews (1852), Lucy Ann Bellows (1856), and Eliza Jane Adamson. He helped settle Palmyra, Utah County, Utah, where he farmed, raised stock, and was the first bishop. He died in 1878 in Spanish Fork. Family Group Sheets; *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia* 3:676-77, 4:712.

Martha. See Hyde, Martha.

Mary Ann. See Hyde, Mary Ann.

Miner, Laura Marinda Hyde, Marinda's second child, was born 21 May 1837 in Kirtland, Ohio, married Aurelius Miner, and died 10 August 1909 in Salt Lake City.

Noble, Joseph Bates, was born 14 January 1810 in Egremont, Berkshire County, Massachusetts, was baptized in 1832, participated in Zion's Camp in 1834, married Mary Beaman in September 1834, performed the marriage of Mary's sister Louisa to Joseph Smith in April 1841 in Nauvoo, then was sealed to Sarah Alley on 5 April 1843. She was the second of his eleven

wives. He and Mary came to Utah in the Jedediah Grant company in 1847 and settled in Bountiful. He died 17 August 1901 in Wardboro, Bear Lake County, Utah. Joseph Bates Noble, Journal, typescript, Lee Library; Mary Beaman Noble, Autobiography, Lee Library; Stout, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 1:38; Family Group Sheets; *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia* 4:691.

Noble, Mary Adeline Beaman, one of Louisa's sisters, was born 19 October 1810, in Livonia, Livingston County, New York. She married Joseph Bates Noble (*q.v.*) on 11 September 1834, and gave birth to nine children. She probably reached Utah in 1847 with Joseph Bates. The health problems that Louisa mentions evidently grew worse, for Mary died 14 February 1851 in Salt Lake City. See Mary Beaman Noble, Autobiography, Lee Library; Joseph Bates Noble, Journal, Lee Library.

Parry, Patty Bartlett Sessions Smith, was born 4 February 1795 in Bethel, Oxford County, Maine. On 28 June 1812, she married David Sessions and gave birth to eight children, of whom three, Perrigrine, David, and Sylvia, grew to maturity. She was baptized in 1834. The family moved to Missouri in 1837, to Nauvoo in 1839, where Patty played an important part in the elite circles of Mormon women, to Winter Quarters in 1846, and to Utah in 1847. On 11 August 1850, David died. Patty married John Parry on 14 December 1851, and he died on January 13, 1868. Patty moved to Bountiful in 1872 and died there on 14 December 1892. She was widely known as a midwife and was well-to-do in her later years. Like Louisa and her daughter Sylvia, Patty was a plural wife of Joseph Smith. Smart, *Mormon Midwife*, 276-77; Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness*, 171-204; Susan Sessions Rugh, "Patty Bartlett Sessions: More Than a Midwife," in *Sister Saints*, edited by Vicky Burgess-Olson (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1978), 303-24.

Powers, Sister. See Mary Ann Clark Powers Young.

Price, Charles, was born 12 December 1829 in Lea, Gloucestershire, England, to William and Mary Ann Price; he was the brother of Mary Ann Price Hyde and Elizabeth Price Bentley. He married Elsa Johnson (*q.v.*) on 25 November 1847 at Winter Quarters. Most of their fifteen children were born in Nephi, Juab County, Utah. Charles died 24 March 1905 in Nephi. Family Group Sheets.

Price, Elsa Johnson, a niece of Marinda Johnson Hyde, was the daughter of Luke Johnson and Susan Poteet Johnson. Born 8 March 1834 in Kirtland, she married Charles Price on 25 November 1847 and died in Nephi on 25 April 1912. Family Group Sheets.

Seegmiller, Artemisia Snow Wooley, daughter of Artemisia Beaman Snow and Erastus Snow, was born 8 February 1849, married Franklin Wooley in

1868 and Daniel Seegmiller in 1873, and died 21 April 21, 1925. Family Group Sheets.

Sessions, Patty. See Parry, Patty Bartlett.

Snow, Artemisia Beaman, Louisa's sister, was born 3 March 1819 in Livonia, New York, married Erastus Snow (*q.v.*) in Far West, Missouri, in 1838 as his first wife, gave birth to eleven children, and died 21 December 1882 in St. George, Washington County, Utah. Artemisia's child mentioned in Louisa's letter is Artemisia Snow Wooley Seegmiller (*q.v.*). See St. George Manuscript Histories, 22 December 1882, LDS Church Archives, for Artemisia's funeral service and biography.

Louisa had close ties to the Snow family because of Artemisia. Her feminine network thus included the wives of: Joseph Smith (at least thirty-two women), Brigham Young (at least fifty-four), Heber C. Kimball (forty-four), Joseph Bates Noble (eleven), Orson Hyde (nine), and Erastus Snow (fourteen). For the importance of women's friendships in nineteenth-century America, see Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations Between Women in Nineteenth-Century America," in her *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 53-76; Jill Mulvey Derr, "Strength in Our Union": The Making of Mormon Sisterhood," in *Sisters in Spirit: Mormon Women in Historical and Cultural Perspective*, edited by Maureen Ursenbach Beecher and Lavina Fielding Anderson (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 153-207.

Snow, Eliza. See Young, Eliza R. Snow.

Snow, Erastus, 1818-88, was ordained an apostle in 1849, helped found St. George in 1861, married Artemisia Beaman (*q.v.*), Minerva White (*q.v.*), and thirteen other wives. Andrew Karl Larson, *Erastus Snow* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1971); *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia* 1:103-115; D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997), 700-701.

Snow, Erastus White, born 27 January 1849, was Minerva White Snow's first child to live to maturity. He married Margaret Alice McBride, and died 20 March 1888.

Snow, Minerva White, Erastus Snow's first plural wife, was born 22 March 1822 in Northbridge, Worcester County, Massachusetts. She and her parents converted to Mormonism in 1840 and moved to Nauvoo. She married Snow on 2 April 1844 and gave birth to nine children, of whom four survived to adulthood. The child mentioned in Louisa's letter is Erastus White Snow (*q.v.*). Minerva came to Utah, probably in 1848 with Snow and to southern Utah in 1861, probably accompanying Erastus. In St. George, Min-

erva served as stake Relief Society president, 1878-85, and died 1 April 1896 in Manti, Sanpete County, Utah. Endowment Register; *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia* 4:197-98; Family Group Sheets.

Susan. See Young, Susan.

Thatcher, Fanny Young, daughter of Brigham Young and Lucy Ann Decker, was born 26 January 1849, married George Washington Thatcher in 1867, and died in 1892 in Salt Lake City.

Thomson, Bro. Possibly: (1) Ralph Thompson, a weaver and "woolen manufacturer," was born 12 April 1811 in Aycliffe, Durham County, England, married Ann Bentley 8 April 1837 in Alston, Cumberland, England, and was baptized a Mormon in September 1837. They moved to Nauvoo where one child was born 16 March 1845; the next was born in St. Louis 9 October 1848. He married Sarah Siddall in Salt Lake City in 1854 and Elizabeth Skelton in 1860. He died 8 February 1872 in Salt Lake City. See Black, *Membership of the Church*. (2) Samuel Thompson was born 30 March 1815 in Pomfret, Chautauqua County, New York, was baptized by Brigham Young in 1833, participated in Zion's Camp in 1834, married Mary Anderson before 1839 (four children), served in the Mormon Battalion, was at Sutter's mill when gold was discovered, returned to Winter Quarters in 1848, married Druzilla Holt and came to Utah in 1848, was called to the Las Vegas mission in 1856, but settled permanently in Spanish Fork, Utah County, Utah. He died 22 April 1892 in Vernal, Uintah County, Utah. Black, *Membership of the Church*; Lyndon Cook and Milton Backman, eds., *Kirtland Elders' Quorum Record* (Provo, Utah: Grandin, 1985), 104; Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage* 18:135; Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion*, 353.

White, Manerva. See Snow, Minerva White.

Young, Brigham, 1801-77, second president of the Church, married fifty-five wives, nineteen of them connubially, and fathered fifty-seven children. As a polygamous husband, Young was kind if authoritarian; he certainly had favorite wives. Johnson, "Determining and Defining 'Wife'"; Arrington, *Brigham Young*; Newell Bringham, *Brigham Young and the Expanding American Frontier* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1986); Dean Jessee, *Letters of Brigham Young to His Sons* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Books, 1974); Quinn, *Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power*, 607-11.

Young, Clarissa Caroline Decker, is the most frequently mentioned of Brigham's three wives named Clarissa; the other two were Clarissa Ross (sometimes known as Clarissa Chase because her stepfather was Isaac Chase), and Clarissa Blake. Born in 1828 to Isaac Decker and Harriet Page Wheeler, Clarissa Decker married Brigham Young at age sixteen on 8 May 1844, as his fourth plural wife, bore five children, was one of three women

with the pioneer company of 1847, and died in 1889. Clarissa Decker Young, Autobiography, Bancroft Library; Johnson, "Determining and Defining 'Wife'"; Arrington, *Brigham Young*, 130; Patty Sessions, Journal, 26-31 October 1847; Smart, *Mormon Midwife*, 102.

Young, Eliza Roxcy Snow Smith, 1804-87, the sister of apostle and fifth Church president Lorenzo Snow, was a distinguished poet and a prominent, charismatic leader. A plural wife of Joseph Smith in Nauvoo, she became Brigham's eighth polygamous spouse on 3 October 1844. Known as Brigham Young's informal counselor, she served as de facto general president of the General Relief Society, then as formal president from 1866 to 1887. Eliza's poor health in her early Salt Lake years, mentioned by Louisa, is documented in many other sources. Helen Mar Kimball Whitney, "Life Incidents," *Woman's Exponent* 9 (15 April 1881): 169-70, wrote, "Our [Helen's and Eliza's] intimacy began the first winter after we came to this valley, we were both invalids and though we lived within half a block's distance of each other, we were unable to walk it; but we could communicate our thoughts and feelings by letter which we often did, though paper like every other commodity at that time was very scarce; we never left any blank space." Susa Young Gates, a daughter of Lucy Bigelow Young, Brigham's forty-second wife, described Eliza's sickness in her early Utah years as consumption: "Aunt Eliza . . . laid in the old Log Row, and for some time in the Lion House, spitting her life away with that dreadful disease, consumption. Mother used to go to see her often, and ask if there was anything she could do; but Aunt Eliza always answered so patiently and gently that she needed nothing." Susa Young Gates, "Life in the Lion House," 39-40, Susa Young Gates Papers, box 12, fds. 12 and 13, p. 43, Utah State Historical Society; Beecher, *The Personal Writings of Eliza Roxcy Snow*, including Eliza's Autobiographical Sketch, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; her Nauvoo diary; her overland diaries, 1846-49, Huntington Library, San Marino, California; Beecher, *Eliza and Her Sisters*; Jill Mulvey Derr, Janath Russell Cannon, and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, *Women of Covenant: The Story of the Relief Society* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Books, 1992); Jeni Broberg Holzapfel and Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, comps. and eds., *A Woman's View: Helen Mar Whitney's Reminiscences of Early Church History* (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1997), 86-87; Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness*, 306-41.

Young, Emily Dow Partridge Smith, was born 28 February 1824 in Painesville, Geauga County, Ohio, to Edward and Lydia Partridge. The family was baptized in late 1830 and moved to Jackson County, Missouri in late 1831. Edward, one of the Church's earliest bishops, was tarred and feathered in 1833 and jailed in 1838. The family moved to Nauvoo in 1839, where Ed-

ward died 27 May 1840. Emily and her older sister Eliza worked in the Joseph Smith home. Both became his plural wives, Emily marrying him on 4 March 1843. She married Brigham Young in a proxy marriage in September or November 1844 as his approximate fifth plural wife and bore seven children. She crossed the plains in 1848. She lived in the Lion House until 1869, lived at the Forest Farm until 1873, suffered ill health, and died in Salt Lake City on 13 December 1899. Her diary portrays Young as a somewhat distant, nonsupportive figure but as a revered religious leader. The child Louisa mentions is Emily Augusta Young, born 1 March 1849 in Salt Lake City, in the "old log row," Brigham's line of log cabins on First Avenue. Emily Augusta later married Hiram Bradley Clawson, Brigham Young's business manager, as a plural wife, and died 19 March 1926 in Salt Lake City. Autobiographical reminiscences, LDS Church Archives, and Marriott Library; Diary, LDS Church Archives; "Autobiography of Emily D. P. Young," *Woman's Exponent* 14 (1 August 1885): 37-38ff.; Cook, *Revelations of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 53-54; Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness*, 396-432.

Young, Emmeline Free, was born in 1826, baptized by John D. Lee in September 1842, and married Brigham Young on 30 April 1845 as his eighteenth plural wife. She was his favored wife for many years and bore ten children. Reportedly, tensions between her and her sister wives resulted. She named her second child, born 30 July 1849, Marinda Hyde Young, another sign of close relations between Marinda Hyde and the Young wives. Emmeline died 17 July 1875 after a lengthy illness.

Young, Lucy Ann Decker, was born 17 May 1822, in Ontario County, New York, married Brigham Young on 14 June 1842 as his first plural wife, bore seven children, and died on 24 January 1890 in Salt Lake City. The baby Louisa mentions is Fanny Young Thatcher (*q.v.*).

Young, Margaret Maria Alley, was born 19 December 1825, to George Alley and Mary Symonds Alley in Lynn, Essex, Massachusetts. The family was baptized and moved to Nauvoo. Margaret married Brigham on 14 January 1846, as his twentieth plural wife, bore two children, and died 5 November 1852. Johnson, "Determining and Defining 'Wife'"; Carter, *Brigham Young*, 20.

Young, Margaret W. Pierce Whitesides, was born 19 April 1823 to Robert Pierce and Hannah Harvey Pierce in Delaware County, Pennsylvania, was baptized on 5 April 1840, married Morris Whitesides in 1844, was widowed, married Brigham Young on 16 January 1845 as his sixteenth plural wife, and bore one child, Brigham Morris, in 1854. She died 16 January 1907. Zina D. H. Young, Journal, 19 February 1849 ("Margret Pierce"); Margaret Pierce Young, Reminiscences, LDS Church Archives.

Young, Mary Ann Angell, was born 8 June 1803, in Seneca, Ontario County, New York, was baptized in 1830, traveled alone to Kirtland, married the recently widowed Brigham Young on 10 February 1834, bore six children, crossed the plains in 1848, eventually lived in the "White House" separate from the Lion House, and died in 1882. Tullidge, *The Women of Mormonism*, 359-66.

Young, Mary Ann Clark Powers, was born 28 December 1816, married Brigham Young on 15 January 1845, as his seventeenth wife but apparently continued to cohabit with her non-Mormon first husband, who left her, at least temporarily. She divorced Young in 1851. Mary Ann Powers, Letters to Brigham Young, 9 August 1846, 18 June 1851, Brigham Young Papers, LDS Church Archives; Johnson, "Determining and Defining 'Wife,'" 63.

Young, Sister. See Young, Mary Ann Angell.

Young, Susan (Susannah) Snively, was born 30 October 1815 in Woodstock, Shenandoah, Virginia, to Henry Snively and Mary Havener Snively, was baptized in 1836 or 1837, moved to Springfield, Illinois, moved to Nauvoo in 1842, and married Brigham on 31 October 1844 as his thirteenth plural wife. She lived at Brigham's Forest Farm on the outskirts of Salt Lake City for a time and died childless on 20 November 1892 in Salt Lake City.

Young, Zina Diantha Huntington Jacobs Smith, was born 31 January 1821 in Watertown, Jefferson County, New York, married Henry Jacobs on 7 March 1841, bore two sons, married both Joseph Smith and Brigham Young polyandrously, became a connubial wife of Brigham Young in 1846, and bore him one daughter, Zina Young Williams Card. After serving as counselor to Eliza Snow in the general Relief Society, Young Ladies Mutual Improvement Association, and Primary Associations, she served as third general Relief Society president from 1888 until her death on 29 August 1901. Zina D. H. Young, Journal, LDS Church Archives; Higbee, "'A Weary Traveler': The 1848-50 Diary of Zina D. H. Young"; Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, ed., "'All Things Move in Order in the City': The Nauvoo Diary of Zina Diantha Huntington Jacobs," *BYU Studies* 19 (1979): 285-320; Emmeline Wells, "A Distinguished Woman: Zina D. H. Young," *Woman's Exponent* 10 (15 November 1881): 90-91ff.; Derr, Cannon, and Beecher, *Women of Covenant*, 127-50; Martha Sonntag Bradley and Mary Brown Firmage Woodward, "Plurality, Patriarchy, and the Priestess: Zina D. H. Young's Nauvoo Marriages," *Journal of Mormon History* 20 (Spring 1994): 84-118; Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, "Each in Her Own Time: Four Zinas," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 26 (1993): 119-38; Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness*, 71-113.

Zina. See Young, Zina.

“JOSEPH’S MEASURES”: THE CONTINUATION OF ESOTERICA BY SCHISMATIC MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL OF FIFTY

Matthew S. Moore

IN THE MIDST of the succession crisis of 1844, Brigham Young, president of the Quorum of the Twelve, addressed the Saints at Nauvoo on 8 September 1844:

I have frequently thought lately of Paul’s words when he said “much everyway,” “some for Paul, some for Appollos, some for Cephus and some for Christ:” and I believe there are a great many here for Christ. I will make the application of Paul’s words to us: “Much every way.” Some for Joseph and Hyrum, the Book of Mormon and Doctrine and Covenants, the Temple and *Joseph’s measures*; and some for Lyman Wight, some for James Emmett and some for Sidney Rigdon, and I suppose some for the Twelve.¹

Young’s remarks reveal the lack of unity among the Saints on

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¹Trial of Elder Rigdon, *Times and Seasons* 5 (15 September 1844): 647; emphasis mine.

the course they should pursue in the absence of their martyred Prophet, Joseph Smith. This "much every way" condition emerged from the fact that men of high authority during Smith's lifetime were now promoting differing ideas of the path the Saints should follow, each claiming that their measures were indeed "Joseph's measures." These activities and ideologies fueled the succession crisis.²

The Church's April 1845 conference voted to henceforth call Nauvoo the "City of Joseph."³ This gesture captured the admiration and devotion of both leaders and members for their martyred prophet. Here he had fulfilled the most important aspects of his mission, particularly in imparting the temple ordinances and establishing the Kingdom of God. Nauvoo was his "last will and testament,"⁴ the setting where his mature theology unfolded.

In August 1842 Smith said, "I have the whole plan of the Kingdom before me, and no other person has."⁵ However, in the next two years, he revealed some of these plans, both in public and in private, conveying the most sacred and sensitive features to only a few of his most trusted associates. These few associates heard Smith's private expositions of the temple ordinances, plural marriage, and political features of the kingdom both in private and also in small, formally organized groups. The last of these groups Smith organized was the Council of Fifty.⁶ On 7 April 1842, Smith received a

²See D. Michael Quinn, "The Mormon Succession Crisis of 1844," *BYU Studies* 16 (Winter 1976): 187-233; D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books/Smith Research Associates, 1994), 143-263; Andrew F. Ehat, "Joseph Smith's Introduction of Temple Ordinances and the 1844 Mormon Succession Question" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1982).

³*Times and Seasons* 6:871.

⁴Richard L. Anderson, "Joseph Smith's Prophecies of Martyrdom," in [no editor], *The Eighth Annual Sidney B. Sperry Symposium: A Sesquicentennial Look at Church History* (Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 1980), 1.

⁵Joseph Smith, et al., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, edited by B. H. Roberts, 7 vols., 2d ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1978 printing), 5:139.

⁶See D. Michael Quinn, "The Council of Fifty and Its Members, 1844 to 1945," *BYU Studies* 20 (Winter 1980): 163-197; Andrew F. Ehat, "It Seems Like Heaven Began on Earth': Joseph Smith and the Constitution of the Kingdom of God," *BYU Studies* 20 (Spring 1980): 253-280; Quinn, *Origins*

revelation to organize “the Kingdom of God and his Laws, with the Keys and power thereof, and judgment in the hands of his servants, Ahman Christ.”⁷ This group is better known by its two shorter titles, the Council of Fifty or the Kingdom of God. He accomplished this task on 11 March 1844, eventually adding a few more so that the group numbered more than fifty. This council represented the organization that would eventually govern “the Kingdom of God” on earth during the millennial reign of Christ.⁸

The Council of Fifty had partially overlapping membership with other groups that Smith also organized and to which he conveyed private teachings, including the quorums of General Authorities, those who were endowed, and those who received the Fulness of the Priesthood.⁹ This paper examines Smith’s private teachings

of Power, 120-41, 191-212, 521-31; Klaus J. Hansen, *Quest for Empire: The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon History* (Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1967).

⁷William Clayton, *An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton*, edited by George D. Smith (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1991), 1 January 1845, 153.

⁸*Church History in the Fulness of Times* (Salt Lake City: Church Educational System/The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1989), 270. On the day of its organization, this “special council” was charged to consider the “best policy for this people to adopt to obtain their rights from the nation and insure protection for themselves and children; and to secure a resting place in the mountains, or some uninhabited region, where we can enjoy the liberty of conscience guaranteed to us by the Constitution of our country, rendered doubly sacred by the precious blood of our fathers, and denied to us by the present authorities, who have smuggled themselves into power in the States and Nation.” *History of the Church* 6:260-61.

⁹See D&C 124:28. Joseph Smith taught that “those holding the fulness of the Melchizedek Priesthood are kings and priests of the Most High God, holding the keys of power and blessings. In fact, that Priesthood is a perfect law of theocracy, and stands as God to give laws to the people, administering endless lives to the sons and daughters of Adam.” Joseph Fielding Smith, comp., *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1976), 322. Smith also taught that women would receive the fulness of priesthood which was fulfilled under his direction. See his remarks in “Nauvoo Relief Society Minutes,” 30 March 1842 in Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, eds. and comps., *The Words of Joseph Smith* (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1980), 110, 137 note 4.

to his trusted associates, some of whom heard these teachings or variations in more than one setting, then focuses on eight schismatic members of the Council of Fifty who continued those esoteric (or hidden, secret, reserved for the select few) teachings apart from Brigham Young's group. These eight are George J. Adams, Alpheus Cutler, James Emmett, William Marks, George Miller, Sidney Rigdon, William Smith, and Lyman Wight. (See Appendix for brief biographical sketches.) Most of the eight studied here shared three characteristics: (1) They felt they had received premartyrdom commissions which they should not abandon; (2) All struggled with varying interpretations of the role of the Council of Fifty and the Quorum of the Twelve; and (3) All viewed the Church and the Kingdom as distinct entities with reinforcing but independent missions.

Against that background, I consider how they expressed four esoteric teachings: (1) temple ordinances, (2) the role of women in the Kingdom (3) plural marriage, and (4) the law of adoption. (I exclude Masonry which Joseph Smith embraced but did not introduce.) These concepts are esoteric because, when Smith died 27 June 1844, they were known and understood by only a small fraction of the general membership. The endowment was also highly esoteric in 1844; but Brigham Young's decision to finish the temple and endow every adult possible made it, not markers of specialness for a select few, but a covenant of community for a whole people.

The Council of Fifty were privy to many of Smith's crowning achievements in establishing the "dispensation of the fullness of the priesthood," which he called his "mission in this life."¹⁰ From their perceptions and practices, it is possible to reconstruct a partial picture of "Joseph's measures," which provide a useful tool for comparing how nonschismatic Fifties, those privy to Smith's inner circles who followed Brigham Young, dealt with and continued "accepted" esoterica. Not all of the individuals studied here agree on what transpired or how these events should be interpreted. These teachings were, after all, considered both sacred and secret. However, even though primary or contemporary sources give us only partial glimpses, this study is grounded in an appreciable amount of information.

Brigham Young eventually dropped nineteen of the men

¹⁰Joseph Fielding Smith, *Teachings*, 258.

Smith selected for the Council of Fifty from that body: George J. Adams, Alexander Badlam, Edward Bonney, Uriah Brown, Joseph W. Coolidge, Alpheus Cutler, Marinus G. Eaton, James Emmett, Peter Haws, David S. Hollister, Samuel James, William Marks, George Miller, Sidney Rigdon, William Smith, Ezra Thayre, Lorenzo D. Wasson, Lyman Wight, and Lucien Woodworth. The very fact of this exclusion makes it reasonable to identify them as schismatic. Not all of these nineteen members continued the esoterica attributed to Joseph Smith. In fact, some members were opposed to continuing certain esoteric elements. In addition, others maintained a moderate stance, accepting some of Joseph's measures while rejecting others. What follows is not a biography of each of these schismatic members.¹¹ Rather, this paper will examine the continued esoteric practices and teachings of eight of these members of the Council of Fifty.

It is important to recognize that not all that was attributed to Smith is fact. Among the fascinating questions of this study are: Why did those closest to Joseph Smith and his inner teachings understand his teachings so differently? On what basis did they feel justified in the courses they pursued? These schismatic Fifties were members of the last group Smith organized; hence, they were exposed to some of his final teachings. Also, they included some of the Church's most prominent figures during Smith's lifetime, often publicly recognized with positions of high authority.

CONTINUING PRE-MARTYRDOM COMMISSIONS

The Council of Fifty had a lengthy agenda, only a portion of which they undertook. These projects included sending scouting parties to California, Oregon, and Texas, to determine prospects for future emigration; organizing a Lamanite mission; sending ambassadors to conduct business with other countries; and campaigning for Smith as U.S. president. After his death, these projects stopped.¹² Under Brigham Young, the Quorum of the Twelve gave priority to what they considered the most pertinent of "Joseph's measures": completing the Nauvoo Temple and endowing the Saints. Other members of the Council of Fifty, troubled by this redirection, con-

¹¹Quinn, *Origins of Power*, Appendix 5, 521-28, provides biographical sketches.

¹²Clayton, 1 January 1844, *An Intimate Chronicle*, 153-54.

tinued their former commissions, among them James Emmett, George Miller,¹³ Lyman Wight, and George J. Adams.

James Emmett

James Emmett expressed anxiety "that he had been given a mission by the Prophet which the latter's death made only the more obligatory upon him."¹⁴ That mission was to conduct explorations in the West for future emigration.¹⁵ The Twelve never denied Emmett's commission but labored "diligently" to persuade him to "desist" from leading "away a party of misguided saints into the wilderness."¹⁶ In addition, Young publicly advised against Emmett's expedition while cautiously endorsing an expedition to Texas planned by Lyman Wight, George Miller, and Lucien Woodworth, also members of the Fifty.¹⁷ The differential treatment may have stiffened Emmett's resolve to carry out his premartyrdom commission.

¹³George Miller did not part ways with Brigham Young and the Twelve until after the completion of the temple and the Saints had commenced moving West. Prior to this, Miller was heavily involved in the completion of the Nauvoo Temple and participating in its ordinances.

¹⁴Dale L. Morgan, "The Reminiscences of James Holt: A Narrative of the Emmett Company," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 23 (Winter 1955): 1-34; (April 1955): 153-79; William G. Hartley, *My Best for the Kingdom: History and Autobiography of John Lowe Butler, a Mormon Frontiersman* (Salt Lake City: Aspen Books, 1993), 135-87.

¹⁵According to James Holt, Emmett explained that Joseph had appointed him "to choose a few families and travel among the Indians; to go on to the Rocky Mountains; to preach to the Indians along the way, and prepare them to receive the Saints in the Valleys of the Mountains." Morgan, "The Reminiscences of James Holt," 22. George Miller confirmed Emmett's commission to the Indians. George Miller, *Correspondence of Bishop George Miller with the Northern Islander from his First Acquaintance with Mormonism up to Near the Close of His Life. Written by Himself in the Year 1855* [Burlington, Wis.: Wingfield Watson n.d.], 24. Joseph Smith had called for volunteers for an exploring expedition to the Oregon and California area and expressed his desire that "every man that goes to be a king and a priest. When he gets on the mountains he may want to talk with his God; when with the savage nations have power to govern, &c." *History of the Church* 6:224.

¹⁶*History of the Church* 7:269-70.

¹⁷Brigham Young, Journal, 11 August 1844, Journal History of the

William Hartley pinpoints the turmoil in Nauvoo as a major factor in Emmett's recruiting success. Mob threats, economic difficulties, and the confusion over succession left "citizens afraid of bloodshed and unable to provide for their families." They "were ripe for invitations to leave and start over somewhere in the West."¹⁸ Emmett's followers also believed that the venture had the dead prophet's blessing. One participant, James Holt, recalled that Bishop George Miller "testified to me that Emmett had been appointed by Smith, and said that he had the privilege of choosing whom he pleased to accompany him."¹⁹ Significantly, Emmett "wished us not to reveal it to anyone, not even to our wives, where we were going, for everything was in such an uproar that he was afraid a great many would follow, and it would cause suffering."²⁰

After Emmett's expedition left Nauvoo in September 1844 and temporarily settled in Iowa, he introduced a form of consecration, a system of having "all things in common" which had not worked already in Missouri and which resulted in starvation and deprivation in his group. In March 1845, Emmett also preached the gospel to and shared the Book of Mormon with a group of Sioux chiefs. He explained to them that he "was traveling through their country to preach them the Gospel that was found in that book, and that his intentions were to travel on to the Rocky Mountains where his people wished to settle."²¹ The Twelve disfellowshipped him on 3 September 1844 for disregarding their directions. On 2 August 1845, he appealed successfully to the Twelve to be "restored to the priesthood" after confessing his fault and promising to "make all the restoration in his power."²² This reunion proved short-lived as he eventually left the Saints.²³

Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (chronological scrapbook of typed entries and newspaper clippings, 1830-present), 12 August 1844, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (hereafter LDS Church Archives); Hartley, *My Best for the Kingdom*, 141.

¹⁸Hartley, *My Best for the Kingdom*, 140.

¹⁹Morgan, "The Reminiscences of James Holt," 22.

²⁰*Ibid.*, 22-23.

²¹*Ibid.*, 28.

²²Journal History, 7 August 1845.

²³*Ibid.*, 2, 7, 14 August 1845; Morgan, "Reminiscences of James

Emmett's company was eventually absorbed into George Miller's company.²⁴

Although Emmett is usually dismissed as a renegade with self-serving motives, Hartley cautions against such stereotyping, pointing out that Emmett's motives for leaving Nauvoo and the law of consecration he attempted to implement were similar to measures taken by the Twelve only a year later. In fact, some of the Twelve "offered some of the very reasons and rationales used by Emmett—viewpoints apparently shaped for them, as for him, during Council of Fifty sessions in 1844."²⁵

Eventually Emmett was again disfellowshipped 8 November 1847. Years later, in 1850, he made his way toward California, leaving his family behind in Pottawattamie, Iowa, with dreams of gold. While passing through Salt Lake City, he met with Brigham Young. Young invited Emmett to settle with the Saints. However, Emmett had no intentions of doing so and continued on to California.²⁶

George Miller

According to George Miller, the Twelve asserted shortly after Smith's death that his measures would take "twenty years to accomplish." When Lyman Wight, like James Emmett, eschewed such patience and decided to "commence his work then," he asked Miller to "go with him." Miller "told Lyman there was a way to do all things

Holt," 28-29. Emmett told John Lowe Butler in 1850, "You need not be afraid of your religion, for the Priesthood was taken from the earth when Joseph was murdered." Young "had no authority to govern and control this people." Hartley, *My Best for the Kingdom*, 236.

²⁴Hosea Stout recorded: "They had all come to the Council Bluffs & Emmett followed on and was here stripped of his kingdom and him & all his followers put under Bishop Miller and sent on to Grand Island. Thus ended the reign of this man who sought to divide and to lead off the Saints &c." Juanita Brooks, ed., *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press/Utah State Historical Society, 1982), 1:169. George Miller, however, accepted Emmett as a trusted associate and praised him: "The excellencies of this man Emmett, as a skillful hunter and pioneer cannot be too highly spoken of, perhaps never excelled, even by the renowned Daniel Boone." Miller, *Correspondence*, 35.

²⁵Hartley, *My Best for the Kingdom*, 206.

²⁶*History of the Church*, 7:618; Morgan, "Reminiscences of James Holt," 164; Hartley, *My Best for the Kingdom*, 236-37.

right” and that they should “get the authorities together and clothe ourselves with the necessary papers” before leaving for Texas “as before Joseph’s death agreed upon.” To his “utter astonishment . . . Brigham refused having anything to do with the matter,” saying “that he had no faith in it, and would do nothing to raise means for our outfit or expenses.” Miller concluded that “all hopes [were] cut off to establish dominion of the kingdom, at a time that there seemed to be a crisis, and I verily believed all that we had concocted in council might so easily be accomplished, I was really cast down and dejected.”²⁷

Miller, despite his disillusionment, continued to work with the Twelve, particularly in completing the temple. In February 1846, the Twelve appointed him to lead a company west. Both Miller and Parley P. Pratt led their respective vanguard companies scouting out the best route the Twelve and other companies should follow. The Twelve also assigned him to take charge of the remnants of Emmett’s company. Miller’s obedience and reluctant willingness to put his own commission on hold meant that he, unlike Emmett, was an authorized agent of the Twelve. However, this working relationship between the Twelve and Miller soon fractured.

Distance between the main camp at Winter Quarters, where Young was located, and Miller’s camp which was situated farther north, gave rise to an eventual breakdown in communication during fall and winter 1846-47. The Twelve concluded that Miller and Emmett, who was now under Miller’s leadership, were operating in the same rebellious spirit as Lyman Wight, who was then leading a company of Saints to Texas with unauthorized autonomy. Hartley points out, however, that Miller’s decisions had been carefully and unanimously voted on by the high council over which Miller presided at their camp among the Ponca Indians.²⁸ Increasingly, the Twelve at Winter Quarters in November 1846 yielded to mounting fears that Miller and Emmett were motivated by some hidden agenda. Angered by these suspicions, Miller’s disaffection grew. When Brigham Young received the new “Word and Will of the Lord” (LDS D&C 136) on 14 January 1847, establishing the Twelve as the supreme

²⁷Miller, *Correspondence*, 24.

²⁸Journal History, 20 August 1846; Richard E. Bennett, *Mormons at the Missouri, 1846-1852: “And Should We Die . . .”* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 87-88; Hartley, *My Best for the Kingdom*, 209-29.

authorities in governing westward migration, Miller was "disgusted." He "was broken down in spirit on account of the usurpation of these arrogant Apostles, and their oppressive measures."²⁹

In 1847, Miller and some of his company left to join Lyman Wight's colony in Texas, but he made it clear that he was not affiliating with them. A strong motive seems to be that his son had married one of Wight's daughters.³⁰ Miller judged Wight's teachings as incorrect and Wight himself as an alcoholic:

I soon became convinced that Lyman Wight had become so addicted to drinking that he would, if persisted in, destroy himself, and bring ruin upon his community. He had also misled them by false teaching in regard to lineage and the laws of matrimony, and many other things.

I took the liberty of speaking to Lyman Wight and some few of his adherents in regard to the corruption and errors they were running into, not doubting but I could convince them without getting their ill will; but I soon found my mistake, and had it made doubly manifest to me that by a multitude of transgressions of the laws that God has given for the purifying and guidance of this people, the transgressors will lose the spirit that directs the mind to all truth, and become wholly darkened, and will invariably persecute those that point out to them their errors with the most bitter feelings.³¹

Miller subsequently concluded that he had received divine intelligence concerning Smith's true successor and joined James J. Strang in Wisconsin.

Lyman Wight

In contrast to George Miller's caution, Lyman Wight manifested little hesitation in pursuing his Council of Fifty commission.³²

²⁹Miller, *Correspondence*, 36 He disaffiliated at this time. On 7 February 1847, Apostles Ezra T. Benson and Erastus Snow were assigned to take leadership over Miller's company.

³⁰*Ibid.*, 41.

³¹*Ibid.*, 42.

³²See Davis Bitton, "Mormons in Texas: The Ill-Fated Lyman Wight Colony, 1844-58," *Arizona and the West* 11 (Spring 1969): 5-26; Philip C. Wightman, "The Life and Contributions of Lyman Wight" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1971); and Heman Hale Smith, "The Lyman Wight Colony in Texas, 1846-1858," typescript, n.d., 21, Special Collections,

He organized his company in March–November 1845 and led them out toward Texas where he established the Wight colony.³³ In the spring of 1846, they settled near Austin, Texas, and in 1847 moved again, settling in Zodiac, Texas. Unlike Emmett, Wight had received the Twelve's blessings on his venture 12 August 1844; but they became increasingly concerned about his intentions. The Twelve ultimately disfellowshipped him on 3 December 1848, pending further information. Irritated at this lack of support, Wight published a

Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

³³The Wight Company was also referred to as the "Pine Company." To meet Nauvoo's need for building supplies, Joseph Smith directed a group of Saints to settle in what became known as the Wisconsin Pineries and ship lumber to Nauvoo. George Miller was the chief supervisor of this lumber enterprise. Dennis Rowley, "The Mormon Experience in the Wisconsin Pineries, 1841–1845," *BYU Studies* 32 (Winter/Spring 1992): 119–48. After Smith's murder, Brigham Young permitted George Miller and Lyman Wight to lead the "Pine Company," which eventually became Wight's Texas colony. On 18 August 1844, Brigham Young commented: "There is no man who has any right to lead away one soul out of this city by the consent of the Twelve, except Lyman Wight and George Miller, they have had the privilege of taking the 'Pine Company' where they pleased, but not another soul has the consent of the Twelve to go with them. There is no man who has any liberty to lead away people into the wilderness from this church, or to lead them anywhere else, by the consent of the Twelve or the church, except in the case above named—and I tell you in the name of Jesus Christ that if Lyman Wight and George Miller take a course contrary to our counsel and will not act in concert with us, they will be damned and go to destruction—and if men will not stop striving to be great and exalted, and lead away parties from us, thereby weakening our hands, they will fall and not rise again—and I will destroy their influence in this church with the help of God and my brethren. I wish you to distinctly understand that the counsel of the Twelve is for every family that does not belong to the Pine Company to stay here in Nauvoo, and build up the Temple and get your endowments; do not scatter; 'united we stand, divided we fall'. It has been whispered about that all who go into the wilderness with Wight and Miller will get their endowments, but they cannot give an endowment in the wilderness. If we do not carry out the plan Joseph has laid down and the pattern he has given for us to work by, we cannot get any further endowment—I want this to sink deep into your hearts that you may remember it." *History of the Church*, 7:254–55.

pamphlet explaining that Smith had appointed him to his “Special Mission,” confirmed by the “Grand Council,” and that he intended to “carry out every measure of the Mission, which [Smith] gave to” him. Like all of the Fifty, he had received “full authority to build up the Kingdom of God on earth.” Furthermore, Smith had instructed him privately in the presence of Heber C. Kimball; therefore, no one but God or Smith himself could deter him from his mission and anyone who dared try to dissuade him was consigned to God’s wrath.³⁴

Alpheus Cutler

Like Wight, Alpheus Cutler received initial endorsements from the Twelve in 1847 for his mission to establish a settlement among the Lamanites of Iowa and convert them.³⁵ Cutler undertook this mission because he was assigned to it by Joseph Smith in the Council of Fifty. However, Church leaders at Winter Quarters grew suspicious about Cutler’s activities, especially as he delayed moving

³⁴Lyman Wight, *An Address by Lyman Wight: By Way of an Abridged Account and Journal of My Life from February 1844 up to April 1848 with an Appeal to the Latter Day Saints by Lyman Wight, Apostle and Member of the Grand Council of the Kingdom of God* (Salt Lake City: Wight Trust Publishers, 1989), 1, 5, 6. Wight expanded these justifications in two 1855 letters. He claimed that Joseph had secretly ordained him in 1834 to the supreme office of “Benamey,” which was “the highest rank in the army of the strength of the Lord’s hosts” and an appendage to the office of “Baurak Ale,” held by Joseph Smith. Both Benamey and Baurak Ale involved leading “the armies of Israel to Zion as Moses led the children Israel out of Egypt.” Smith had also given Wight a white stone and “in it a new name.” Wight cited this ordination, his ordination as apostle, and his membership in the Fifty as authority for his actions, while James Strang’s ignorance of these offices was proof of his lack of authority. Wight, letter to Strang’s *Northern Islander*, July 1855, published by Cooper and Chidester, Beaver Island, St. James, in Lyman Wight, Correspondence, 1848-56, LDS Church Archives; Lyman Wight, Letter, Medina River [Texas] to Sanford Porter, 7 December 1855, LDS Church Archives.

³⁵When the Twelve heard about Cutler’s ministry among the Indians on 8 November 1847, Brigham Young remarked: “That pleases me—let Father Cutler be the man to preside there.” Quoted in Richard E. Bennett, “Lamanism, Lymanism, and Cornfields,” *Journal of Mormon History* 13 (1986-87): 50.

west. Eventually, Cutler and his followers established a separate church.³⁶ Cutler claimed that he had been ordained to a "quorum of seven," possibly the Quorum of the Anointed, an intimate inner circle to whom Smith introduced the temple ordinances.³⁷ The official history of the Church of Jesus Christ (Cutlerite) explains that Joseph Smith organized a "Quorum of Seven, all of whom were ordained under his hand to the prophetic office; with all the rights, keys, powers privileges, and blessings belonging to that condition." Cutler, empowered to act as "prophet, seer, and revelator," had an "undisputed right to organize and build up the kingdom the same as Joseph Smith had done."³⁸

George J. Adams

George J. Adams, assigned as a Fifty to be an ambassador to Russia, expressed concern to the Twelve about the assignment and consulted with them about raising funds to continue his "Russian Mission." He left the "continuation of the Russian mission" to the Twelve and probably had few regrets when the answer was no.³⁹

THE COUNCIL AND THE QUORUM

Part of these schisms developed from differing perceptions about the respective roles of the Council of Fifty and the Quorum of the Twelve. Each of these five men had to decide whether to continue the Fifty's former agenda, as articulated by the dead Smith, or the Twelve's current agenda, as articulated by the living Young. D. Michael Quinn identified the Fifty's "diminished role" as a source of anger for some Fifty members "who did not have the powerful status of the apostles during the Mormon exodus."

³⁶See Rupert J. and Daisy Whiting Fletcher, *Alpheus Cutler and the Church of Jesus Christ* (Independence: Church of Jesus Christ, 1974).

³⁷Danny L. Jorgensen, "Conflict in the Camps of Israel: The 1853 Cutlerite Schism," *Journal of Mormon History* 25 (Spring 1995): 61; Ehat, "Joseph Smith's Introduction of Temple Ordinances," 24-97.

³⁸Fletcher and Fletcher, *Alpheus Cutler*, 53. Because contemporary documents reporting Cutler's views and activities are lacking, "Cutler's claims to authority are preserved largely through oral tradition during the first crucial years, thereby blending and blurring previous events." Jorgensen, "Conflict in the Camps of Israel," 61.

³⁹George J. Adams, Letter to Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball, *Journal History*, 27 August 1844.

Quinn lists George Miller among this number in addition to Peter Haws and Lucien Woodworth. At a high council court in Iowa in February 1849 for Haws and Woodworth, Haws insisted "that the Fifty should be called together" and that "Brigham had pledged himself to carry out the measures of Joseph and intimated that it had not been done and that Twelve men had swallowed up thirty-eight."⁴⁰

Just a month earlier on 14 January 1847, Brigham Young received "The Will and Word of the Lord," organizing companies for emigration westward with "a president and his two counselors at their head, under the direction of the Twelve Apostles" (D&C 136:3). This revelation may have been trying to resolve Miller's disapproval of the Twelve's executive control over the westward exodus; but as we have seen, Miller rejected both the revelation and the Quorum's church.

One reason some members of the Fifty viewed their group as superior to the Twelve was that ecclesiastical office or ordination was irrelevant in the Council of Fifty. Rather, with the exception of the chairman, the Fifty were ranked according to age.⁴¹ For instance,

⁴⁰Orson Hyde, George A. Smith, and Ezra T. Benson, first draft of letter, Carburna, Council Bluffs, 27 March 1849, to Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Willard Richards, LDS Church Archives; quoted in Quinn, "Council of Fifty," 175-76. Haws was eventually "cut off" by the Church in 1849. Woodworth was residing in Utah County in 1850. Black, "Early LDS Membership."

⁴¹Ehat, "It Seems Like Heaven Began on Earth," 262-63, notes that alphabetical listings conceal this ranking and its resulting tensions. "Of particular interest is the case of Lyman Wight. Eldest of the Twelve Apostles, he first took his seat in the Council of Fifty on 3 May 1844. He was ranked sixteenth—ahead of all his fellow apostles. When Brigham Young, after the martyrdom of Joseph Smith, did not enthusiastically renew Wight's mission to Texas that had been arranged by the 1844 Council of Fifty, Lyman Wight rebelled and took a company of Saints away anyway. So when the Council appointed . . . Brigham Young, as Standing Chairman of the Council of Fifty on 4 February 1845, . . . Wight was not present to sanction the action. . . . After August 1846 following the death of Samuel Bent, who was ranked second, Lyman Wight refused to accept Young's election as standing chairman. He repeatedly stated that 'nobody under the light of the heavens except Joseph Smith or John Smith, the president of

Alpheus Cutler, William Marks, Sidney Rigdon, George Miller, Peter Haws, Lyman Wight, and Lucien Woodworth had higher rank than Young in the Fifty. Emmett had higher rank than Orson Hyde, Wilford Woodruff, Parley P. Pratt and John Taylor, of the Twelve, in the Fifty.⁴²

THE CHURCH AND THE KINGDOM AS DISTINCT ENTITIES

William Clayton, clerk of the Kingdom, recorded that Joseph Smith was crowned "Prophet, Priest and King" on 1 January 1845 in the Council of Fifty.⁴³ This act, in addition to the organization of the Fifty, was the necessary precursor to what Smith called the "design of Jehovah." In July 1842, three months after receiving the revelation to organize the Council of Fifty, Smith explained that the "design of Jehovah" from the beginning was to "regulate the affairs of the world" and to "stand as a head of the universe" by taking the "reins of government in His own hand." He cited Enoch, Abraham, and Moses as scriptural precedents of theocracy, or the "government of heaven" administered on earth by chosen men of God.⁴⁴ Hence, in the "dispensation of the fulness of times," it was necessary to once again establish this government of the Kingdom to prepare for the millennial reign of Christ, who was King of kings and Lord of lords. Council members recognized that the Church and the

the Fifty, could call him from Texas.' Since John Smith was ranked third in Joseph Smith's Council, Lyman Wight considered John Smith and not Young 'president of the Fifty.' Wight's interpretation of succession in the Council was certainly self-serving. For in the Council of the Twelve Apostles he was responsible to President Brigham Young, but in the Council of Fifty he thought his age gave him advantage, justifying his rebellion against Young's authority. Because he attended only at most three of the seventeen Council of Fifty meetings held during the lifetime of Joseph Smith, possibly Lyman Wight did not know or forgot the rule that age seniority did not determine who was to be standing chairman. That office was always to be filled by the President of the Church. Wight's thinking carried a step further could have made it possible for nonmember of the Church Uriah Brown, ranked fifth, to have succeeded to the 'presidency,' leaving even Lyman Wight in a quandary."

⁴²Quinn, *Origins of Power*, 521-28.

⁴³Clayton, 1 January 1845, *An Intimate Chronicle*, 154.

⁴⁴Smith, *Teachings*, 250-52.

Kingdom were separate and distinct from each other, though both were governed by the priesthood.

After the martyrdom, George Miller and Alexander Badlam met with Apostles Willard Richards, George A. Smith, and John Taylor on 29 July 1844 and requested that the Council of Fifty be convened to "organize the church." The apostles informed Miller and Badlam that the "Council of Fifty was not a church organization, but was composed of members irrespective of their religious faith. . . and that the organization of the church belonged to the priesthood alone."⁴⁵

Cutler eventually took the position that God had rejected the Church but not the Kingdom⁴⁶ and organized the Church of Jesus Christ (Cutlerite) in September 1853. Edmund Fisher⁴⁷ was sustained as president while Cutler became "head or chief Councilor."⁴⁸ Cutler's actions are reminiscent of Joseph Smith's 1843 remarks about appointing Hyrum Smith as prophet while he himself went on to be a "priest and king."⁴⁹

When Sidney Rigdon organized his Church of Christ in both Pittsburgh and Antrim, Pennsylvania, 7-8 April 1845, he organized a council of seventy-three next in authority to the First Presidency.⁵⁰ Thomas J. Gregory suggests that Rigdon and his associate, Samuel James, may have been influenced in selecting this number by their earlier involvement in the Council of Fifty.⁵¹

James J. Strang, in contrast, had himself crowned king over the Kingdom of God centered at Beaver Island, probably because of the

⁴⁵*History of the Church*, 7:213.

⁴⁶Alpheus Cutler, Letter to Zenos H. Gurley, 29 January 1856, quoted in Fletcher and Fletcher, *Alpheus Cutler*, 269.

⁴⁷Edmund Fisher and had served as a missionary, participated in Zion's Camp of 1834, was one of the first seventies, and was ordained a high priest in 1840 in Nauvoo.

⁴⁸Fletcher and Fletcher, *Alpheus Cutler*, 47-48.

⁴⁹Smith, *Teachings*, 318. In the Book of Mormon, Mosiah, a king and a seer, appointed Alma to preside over the Church. Mosiah 21:28; 25:14-19; 26:12; 28:11-19.

⁵⁰"Minutes of a Conference of the Church of Christ . . .," *Messenger and Advocate* (Pittsburgh) 1, no. 2 (15 April 1845): 168-69, 173.

⁵¹Thomas J. Gregory, "Sidney Rigdon: Post Nauvoo," *BYU Studies* 21 (Winter 1981): 59.

heavy influence of five former members of the Council of Fifty.⁵² One of these five, George J. Adams, actually placed the crown on Strang's head.

In short, schismatic members of the Council of Fifty shared three characteristics: they felt committed to premartyrdom assignments, struggled to balance the role that the Fifty and the Twelve should play, and saw the Church and the Kingdom as distinct entities with reinforcing but independent missions. Against this background, we can see how they continued esoteric teachings on temple ordinances, the role of women, plural marriage, and the law of adoption.

TEMPLE ORDINANCES

Almost two years lapsed between 10 April 1842 when Smith was commanded to organize the Council of Fifty and March 1844 when he did.⁵³ What accounts for this delay? According to Andrew F. Ehat, Smith needed to administer the higher ordinances of the temple—ordaining and anointing men and women as “kings and priests; Queens and priestesses” or “the fulness of the priesthood”—to lay the foundation of a “legitimate power of government.”⁵⁴ Eventually, these “kings and priests” would reign with Christ “a thousand years” (Rev. 20:6). Smith next organized the Kingdom of God, which included those who had received these ordinances in their fulness.⁵⁵

⁵²Roger Van Noord, *King of Beaver Island: The Life and Assassination of James Jesse Strang* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 93-110. Strang claimed that it was his lineal right as a descendant of the House of David to inherit the throne of Israel. Joseph Smith was also a descendent of David “unto whom rightly belongs the priesthood, and the keys of the kingdom” (D&C 113:13, 1-10). The five Fifty were George J. Adams, William Marks, George Miller, John E. Page, and William Smith. John E. Page, an excommunicated apostle, had been appointed to the Fifty after Joseph Smith's death.

⁵³Joseph F. Smith, Minutes of the Council of Fifty, 10 April 1880, typescript, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

⁵⁴Ehat, “It Seems Like Heaven Began on Earth,” 254-57. See note 9.

⁵⁵Ehat, *ibid.*, 256, points out: “With one exception all the men upon whom the fulness had been conferred by February 1844 were initiated into the original Council of Fifty on 11 March of that year.” Furthermore, “with

Smith had always intended to extend these ordinances to all the Saints—the program eventually carried out by the Twelve—but in June 1844, those who had received them remained a select group; and these esoteric ordinances were pivotal in succession claims. In this context, the Twelve's disapproval of Emmett's, Miller's, Wight's, and Cutler's colonizing ventures is logical. Brigham Young cautioned: "I do not say that it will never be right for this people to go from here or scatter abroad; but I do say: Wait until the time comes, or you are counseled to do so."⁵⁶ The Twelve insisted that Saints could receive their endowments only in the temple.⁵⁷ Amasa M. Lyman, who had been sent by the Twelve to assess the Emmett company, reported, "I have been in the woods and have seen those people who have gone into the wilderness to get their endowment."⁵⁸ The Twelve branded such activities as invalid and wrote to Emmett's company in February 1845, urging them to return to Nauvoo for their endowments:

Do you wish, dear brethren, to see the house of our God built up, adorned, and prepared according to the commandment and pattern given? Do you wish to enter into its sacred courts and receive your washings and anointings, and the keys of knowledge and power? Do you desire the eternal seal of the Priesthood placed upon your head by which your progenitors from ages past and your posterity for endless generations to come shall be secured to you in a covenant that is everlasting? Do you desire to take part with the servants of God in teaching, civilizing, saving and exalting the Lamanites? And, in fine, do you desire to stand forth with the servants of god and in the majesty and strength and

only two exceptions, all the additional men on whom Joseph Smith conferred the Endowment but not the Fulness of the Priesthood ordinances were also initiated into the Council of Fifty." These temple ordinances were not a prerequisite for membership in the Fifty. Twenty-four members of the Church had not received the temple ordinances at the time they were named to the Fifty, though some did afterward. In addition, three non-Mormons were members of the Fifty. Quinn, *Origins of Power*, 521-58; Ehat, "Joseph Smith's Introduction of Temple Ordinances," 102-3.

⁵⁶Journal History, 18 August 1844.

⁵⁷Wilford Woodruff, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833-1898*, typescript, edited by Scott G. Kenny, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983-85), 2:443; Journal History, 18 August 1844.

⁵⁸Journal History, 16 March 1845.

greatness of the everlasting Priesthood rescue the earth from violence, oppression and wickedness and seal all things unto the end of all things.⁵⁹

Sidney Rigdon was one who performed unauthorized temple ordinances by ordaining some of his followers “prophets, priests and kings” during the summer of 1844.⁶⁰ The Twelve pointed out that Rigdon himself had not received the fulness of the priesthood, but he maintained he had received the Davidic sealing power by a revelation in Pittsburgh, prior to returning to Nauvoo, which authorized him to ordain men to these higher offices.⁶¹ He continued this practice after being excommunicated in September 1844 and founding his own church in April 1845.⁶² In June 1845, he wrote that he was

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, 27 February 1845.

⁶⁰“Trial of Elder Rigdon,” *Times and Seasons* 5 (15 September 1844): 648.

⁶¹John Taylor stated that Rigdon had “been ordaining men to the offices of prophets, priests and kings; whereas he does not hold that office himself.” “Continuation of Elder Sidney Rigdon’s Trial,” *Times and Seasons* 5 (1 October 1844): 652; *Speech of Elder Orson Hyde, Delivered Before the High Priests’ Quorum, in Nauvoo, April 27th, 1845, Upon the Course and Conduct of Mr. Sidney Rigdon, and Upon the Merits of His Claims to the Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Liverpool: James and Woodburn, 1845), 17; Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Sidney Rigdon: A Portrait of Religious Excess* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994), 353. Jedediah M. Grant, *A Collection of Facts Relative to the Course Taken by Elder Sidney Rigdon in the States of Ohio, Missouri, Illinois and Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Brown, Bicking & Guilbert, 1844), 18 recorded: “Elder R[igdon] stated to over seven thousand people that he was with the twelve, he went and held a secret meeting in a private house, in which he proclaimed himself to be the stone that the Prophet Isaiah said the builders rejected; he professed to have received the keys of David, which gave him power to shut and no man openeth, and to open and no man shutteth; another passage in the 11th chapter of Isaiah he applied to himself, saying that he was the branch mentioned in said chapter. He informed the meeting that he had received authority from the Lord to organize the kingdom spoken of by the prophet Daniel—that he had received higher keys than Joseph Smith ever held, therefore he proceeded to ordain men to be Prophets, Priests, and Kings unto the Gentiles.”

⁶²Van Wagoner, *Sidney Rigdon*, 376.

inspired by the Spirit to bestow these temple blessings on some of his brethren, which he did "after the washing and anointing, the Patriarchal seal, as the Lord had directed" him. They then "arose and lifted [their] hands to heaven in holy convocation to God."⁶³

Wight's followers in Zodiac, Texas, also completed a makeshift temple where they performed proxy baptisms for the dead in addition to washings and anointings.⁶⁴

Alpheus Cutler, in a challenging letter to Zenos H. Gurley, seemingly refers to the keys of detecting false spirits that are part of the temple endowment: "How do you, or how did you know that Angel to be an Angel of God? Who trieth Him, and how was He tried? In what Priesthood did He deliver His message?"⁶⁵ The Church of Jesus Christ (Cutlerite) retained its temple theology. Julian E. Whiting, Cutlerite president, explained:

We believe a pattern was given for a temple, with a baptismal font below, a first floor for public assembly, and rooms above for the ordinances of the Holy Priesthood, and we try to build our churches to

⁶³Sidney Rigdon, "History of Facts," *Messenger and Advocate* (Pittsburgh), 1 (15 June 1845): 236. He instructed his adherents to pray standing "with uplifted hands to heaven, declaring in the presence of God, the holy messengers, and one another." *Ibid.*, 1 (15 April 1845): 168-73; 1 (1 May 1845): 185-90; quoted in Van Wagoner, *Sidney Rigdon*, 378. This mode of prayer suggests that they may have followed the pattern established by the Anointed Quorum. D. Michael Quinn, "Latter-day Saint Prayer Circles," *BYU Studies* 19 (Fall 1978): 79-105.

⁶⁴Wightman, "The Life and Contributions of Lyman Wight," 104. William Leyland, who joined Lyman Wight, recorded that the upper room of their storehouse or "temple" was designed to "administer the washings, annointings &c". It was their view that, because completing the Nauvoo Temple had been delayed, the ordinances performed therein were "rejected according to the revelations given through Joseph Smith." William Leyland, "Sketches on the Life and Travels of William Leyland," typescript by Lyndon Cook, 9, given to Library-Archives, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Independence.

⁶⁵Fletcher and Fletcher, *Alpheus Cutler*, 266. On 1 May 1842, Joseph identified the "keys of the Kingdom" as "certain signs and words by which false spirits and personages may be detected from true, which cannot be revealed to the Elders till the Temple is completed." Ehat and Cook, *The Words of Joseph Smith*, 119.

that pattern. We assuredly believe in the secret ordinances of the Melchisedek Priesthood (secret only to those who fail to take the oath and covenant pertaining to that Priesthood) and the vital importance to the Work of the Lord of these most holy ordinances.⁶⁶

After James J. Strang was crowned "King over the Kingdom," comparable to Joseph Smith's being crowned "Prophet, Priest and King" by the Fifty, he instituted the office of "Apostle, Prophet, Seer and King" among his followers.⁶⁷

Another characteristic of these esoteric teachings is the vow of secrecy. Smith and his intimate circle made multiple oaths of secrecy as Freemasonry, in the Anointed Quorum, and in the Council of Fifty.⁶⁸ Admission to the Fifty, for example, consisted in the bestowal of such things as "the 'Charge,' 'The name,' & 'Key word,' and the 'Constitution,' and 'Penalty.'"⁶⁹ Strang established himself as "imperial primate" in a secret society and a "paramonarchical" organization called the "Order of the Illuminati."⁷⁰ John C. Bennett was one of the main characters in introducing Freemasonry in Nauvoo and had been excommunicated for immorality and disloyalty the month that Smith initiated temple ordinances in 1842.⁷¹ Lyman Wight's followers also took a

⁶⁶Quoted in Steven L. Shields, *Divergent Paths of the Restoration: A History of the Latter Day Saint Movement* (Provo, Utah: Restoration Research, 1982), 63.

⁶⁷William Shepard, Donna Falk, and Thelma Lewis, eds. and comps., *James J. Strang: Teachings of a Mormon Prophet* (Burlington, Wis.: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints [Strangite], 1977), 98, 178.

⁶⁸For the Fifty's association with these groups, see Quinn, *Origins of Power*, 521-28.

⁶⁹Joseph F. Smith, draft journal entry, 12 October 1880, quoted in Quinn, "The Council of Fifty," 178.

⁷⁰Van Noord, *King of Beaver Island*, 49-50.

⁷¹Bennett had previously attempted to align himself with Sidney Rigdon and claimed that Joseph Smith had entrusted secret instructions to him (Bennett) about succession in Church leadership. Bennett claimed that Rigdon was designated as the successor of Joseph Smith and was to be made "King and Imperial Primate." This new hypothetical organization was also to be organized into "the Halcyon Order of Illuminati." Andrew F. Smith, *The Sainly Scoundrel: The Life and Times of Dr. John Cook Bennett* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 75-97, 142-43, 150-53, 224 note 2, 150-53;

binding oath of secrecy. One of Wight's company wrote Brigham Young that Wight had forced him to enter into a covenant to "assist and support [Wight] in all things and in all places and in every circumstance" and that he feared for his life in even writing to Young.⁷²

WOMEN IN THE KINGDOM

In July 1843, more than a year after Smith had commenced revealing the temple ordinances, he stressed that men and women must enter into an "everlasting covenant" in this world or face separation in the next but "could not reveal the fulness of these things until the Temple is completed &c."⁷³ Shortly thereafter, women were introduced into the Anointed Quorum; they eventually received the fulness of the priesthood with their husbands, which consisted of their ordinations as "Queens and Priestesses," offices which still exist as promised potentialities in the current LDS temple ceremony.⁷⁴

The Cutlerites, Rigdonites, and Strangites actively continued ordaining women "queens and priestesses."⁷⁵ Rigdon also ordained women as elders, giving them ecclesiastical rather than only theological office. He taught that his female priesthood holders had "all the authority and power of the male if an elder, to baptize, lay on hands for the gift of the holy Ghost, administer the sacrament, and preach and teach."⁷⁶

Lawrence Foster, *Religion and Sexuality: The Shakers, the Mormons, and the Oneida Community* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 17-74.

⁷²David Clayton, Letter to Brigham Young, Journal History, 24 September 1844.

⁷³William Clayton, Journal, 16 July 1843, in Ehat and Cook, *Words of Joseph Smith*, 233.

⁷⁴Ehat, "Joseph Smith's Introduction of Temple Ordinances," 76-96.

⁷⁵Shepard, Falk, and Lewis, *James J. Strang*, 100-101; Ian G. Barber, "The Ecclesiastical Position of Women in Two Mormon Trajectories," *Journal of Mormon History* 14 (1988): 63-80; Van Wagoner, *Sidney Rigdon*, 426-39.

⁷⁶Rigdon, Letter to Warren Post, Jan. 1869, quoted in Van Wagoner, *Sidney Rigdon*, 428, 431. Punctuation added.

PLURAL MARRIAGE

The practice of polygamy was the most controversial of Joseph Smith's teachings among the schismatics as it was among the larger body of the Saints. The Twelve and most members of the Council of Fifty had every intention of continuing plural marriage. To them, this feature of Joseph's measures was of the utmost importance spiritually.⁷⁷ William Clayton recorded that Newel K. Whitney opposed William Marks's appointment as "Trustee in Trust" of the Church in Smith's place because Marks, with William Law and Emma Smith, opposed polygamy. "If Marks is appointed Trustee our spiritual blessings will be destroyed inasmuch as he is not favorable to the most important matters," summarized Clayton.⁷⁸

William Marks took the position that Joseph Smith

became convinced before his death that he had done wrong; for about three weeks before his death, I met him one morning in the street, and he said to me, Brother Marks, I have something to communicate to you, we retired to a by-place, and set down together, when he said: "We are a ruined people." I asked, how so? he said: "This doctrine of polygamy, or Spiritual-wife system, that has been taught and practiced among us, will prove our destruction and overthrow. I have been deceived," said he, "in reference to its practice; it is wrong; it is a curse to mankind, and we shall have to leave the United States soon, unless it can be put down, and its practice stopped in the church. Now," said he, "Brother Marks, [sic] you have not received this doctrine, and how glad I am. I want you to go into the high council, and I will have charges preferred against all who practice this doctrine, and I want you to try them by the laws of the church, and cut them off, if they will not repent, and cease the practice of this doctrine; and" said he, "I will go into the stand, and preach against it, with all my might, and in this way we may rid the church of this damnable heresy."⁷⁹

⁷⁷Danel W. Bachman, "A Study of the Mormon Practice of Plural Marriage Before the Death of Joseph Smith" (M.A. thesis, Purdue University, 1975); Foster, *Religion and Sexuality*.

⁷⁸Clayton Journal, 12 July 1844, *An Intimate Chronicle*, 138.

⁷⁹"Epistle of Wm. Marks, . . ." *Zion's Harbinger and Baneemy's Organ*, July 1853, 53, quoted in Richard P. Howard, "The Changing RLDS Response to Mormon Polygamy: A Preliminary Analysis," in *Restoration Studies III*, edited by Maurice L. Draper and Debra Combs (Independence: Herald Publishing House, 1986), 146.

Sidney Rigdon abhorred polygamy, apparently because Joseph Smith proposed plural marriage to Sidney's and Phoebe's daughter, Nancy.⁸⁰ Sidney later identified Smith's introduction of polygamy as the cause of his becoming a fallen prophet.⁸¹ Yet despite this public position, some have credited him with teaching or practicing a form of polygamy.⁸²

Alpheus Cutler, a polygamist himself, eventually chose not to promote the practice. The official history of the Church of Jesus Christ (Cutlerite) takes the position that polygamy had ungodly origins and that its practitioners in the early Church were deceived:

The first task was to eradicate any taint of plural marriage. Few families had escaped the embarrassment and humility of having daughters espoused as plural wives to leading men of the church, or suffered the shame of seeing sons, brothers, or fathers participate in the practice. Many had been deceived into actually believing they were doing God's will. In this manner families became divided and grieving relatives bade their loved ones farewell.⁸³

Gideon Carter, who lived in the home of Orange Lysander Wight, son of Lyman Wight and a member of the Texas colony, recalled that while Lyman Wight and

his company were stopping at Prairie La Crosse in the fall and winter of 1844-45, Lyman Wight's son, Orange L. Wight, who was the husband of my sister, Matilda, married a plural wife, a young lady to whom he had been engaged before marrying my sister but with whom he had broken through some misunderstanding. I understand that Lyman Wight performed the ceremony, Enroute for Texas one Joe Miles married a plural wife, and Lyman Wight himself before he arrived in Texas also married a plural wife; and I remember distinctly that while living in Texas he had three wives and I think he had four.⁸⁴

⁸⁰For a discussion of this incident see Van Wagoner, *Sidney Rigdon*, 290-310.

⁸¹Rigdon, *Messenger and Advocate* (Pittsburgh), (1 November 1844): 2-3, 6, 8; (1 February 1845): 105, 107.

⁸²Gregory, "Sidney Rigdon: Post Nauvoo," 51-67; Van Wagoner, *Sidney Rigdon*, 373.

⁸³Fletcher and Fletcher, *Alpheus Cutler*, 44-45.

⁸⁴Statement made to B. H. Roberts by Gideon Carter, February 27, 1894, quoted in Wightman, "The Life and Contributions of Lyman Wight,"

Lyman Wight claimed that he had received authority to perform plural marriages from Joseph Smith but eventually discontinued the practice because “the world” was too unrighteous to receive it.⁸⁵

Wilford Woodruff of the Twelve wrote to Brigham Young from Boston on 9 October 1844 that William Smith and George Adams, both members of the Fifty, were “crowding their spiritual wife claims” causing some of the faithful Saints or some of the “strongest pillars” to shake.⁸⁶ Furthermore, in August 1845, William Smith made a public discourse in Nauvoo entitled, “The First Chapter of the Gospel by St. William” wherein he made a “full declaration of his belief in the doctrine of a plurality of wives &c.” He disclosed that the doctrine of plural marriage had been “taught in Nauvoo secretly—that he taught and practiced it, and he was not in favor of making a secret of the matter. He said that it was a common thing amongst the leaders and he for one was not ashamed of it.”⁸⁷ This announcement was not only shocking to his listeners but was a breach of fellowship with the other apostles, since the official position up to that point had been denial and secrecy. Fellow Council member and apostle John Taylor, who was present during Smith’s address, “felt pained and distressed when Wm. was speaking, as did

102-3. According to Wightman, family history records demonstrate that Wight had at least four wives. Wightman presents further evidence that Wight also had polygamous relationships with two more wives. Ibid, 103.

⁸⁵Ibid., 104.

⁸⁶Wilford Woodruff, Letter to Brigham Young from Boston, 9 October 1844, Manuscript History of the Church, LDS Church Archives; quoted in Bates and Smith, *Lost Legacy: The Mormon Office of Presiding Patriarch* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 80. Judging from Woodruff’s response, this activity was unauthorized. See Wilford Woodruff, Letter to Brigham Young, Journal History, 3 December 1844. In addition, John Hardy, leader of the Boston LDS branch, wrote a harsh criticism of William Smith, George J. Adams and Samuel Brannan accusing them of promoting their system of plural wives. John Hardy, *History of the Trial of Elder John Hardy, Before the Church of Latter Day Saints in Boston, for Slander, in Saying that G. J. Adams, S. Brannan and William Smith Were Licentious Characters* (Boston: Conway, 1844).

⁸⁷Warsaw Signal, 3 September 1845; quoted in Foster, *Religion and Sexuality*, 189.

a great many of the congregation, and many of the people left, being disgusted at the remarks he made.”⁸⁸

William Smith and George J. Adams, after their excommunications on 12 October 1845 and 10 April 1845 respectively, aligned themselves with Strang. John C. Bennett, the notorious spiritual wifery proponent, joined Strang in 1847. Together, William Smith, Adams, and Bennett influenced Strang to accept polygamy after denouncing the practice in 1847-48.⁸⁹ Adams successfully transmitted a proposal to Elvira Eliza Field, a Strang convert, to become Strang’s secret plural wife and queen with him in the Kingdom of God. Adams performed their wedding on 13 July 1849.⁹⁰

A year later on 9 July 1850, the day after his coronation, Strang reversed his position in response to significant opposition to polygamy and agreed to prohibit further plural marriages. However, when Bishop George Miller joined with Strang in October 1850, accompanied by two wives, the opposition to polygamy among the Strangites lessened.⁹¹ Strang reversed himself for a third time, married four plural wives, and advocated polygamy until his assassination on 9 July 1856.

THE LAW OF ADOPTION

Joseph Smith instructed his followers that “welding” the family of Adam together in righteousness was essential for establishing the Kingdom of God. The purpose of this last dispensation, “the fulness

⁸⁸William Smith, Address, 17 August 1845, with remarks by John Taylor, quoted in Bates and Smith, *Lost Legacy*, 91. William had been sealed to six women by 1845 and Taylor was himself a polygamist at this time. Cook, *Revelations of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 277.

⁸⁹Van Noord, *King of Beaver Island*, 80-83; Smith, *The Saintly Scoundrel*, 146-50.

⁹⁰Elvira Eliza Field, born in Ohio and raised in Michigan, began teaching school in Washtenaw County in 1846 at age sixteen. Elvira’s parents, baptized Mormon before 1844, affiliated with Strang after that point, and so did Elvira. Van Noord, *King of Beaver Island*, 80-82.

⁹¹John Quist, “Polygamy Among James Strang and His Followers,” *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 9 (1989): 38. Miller’s third wife, claiming that he had mistreated her, left him and stayed in Texas. Wightman, “The Life and Contributions of Lyman Wight,” 101.

of times,” was to lay the foundation for the salvation of the entire human family:

The earth will be smitten with a curse unless there is a welding link of some kind or other between the fathers and the children, upon some subject or other—and behold what is that subject? It is the baptism for the dead. For we without them cannot be made perfect; neither can they without us be made perfect. Neither can they nor we be made perfect without those who have died in the gospel also; for it is necessary in the ushering in of the dispensation of the fulness of times, which dispensation is now beginning to usher in, that a whole and complete and perfect union, and welding together of dispensations, and keys, and powers, and glories should take place, and be revealed from the days of Adam even to the present time. (D&C 128:18)

In the spring before his death, Joseph Smith urged the Saints to complete the temple and receive the “last and most important ordinances” to make them “kings and priests unto” God.⁹² They would then be equipped to build up God’s kingdom throughout Zion in both North and South America. He also told the Saints that those possessing the fulness of the priesthood should “use a little craftiness and seal all” they can.⁹³

Following Smith’s death, the Twelve further unfolded this doctrine. The pattern for linking the human family followed the order of the Kingdom of God. Kings and queens were to preside over family kingdoms in which posterity were sealed to parents. As not every member of one’s family had entered the Kingdom, the law of adoption was enacted. The most prominent figures of the Church had people adopted to them, the Twelve being preeminent. Gordon Irving points out that “seventy-four percent of those adopted, excluding natural children and relatives, were linked to Apostles Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards, John Taylor, or Brigham Young.”⁹⁴

Some feared that being sealed to another would in some way diminish their own kingdom. Brigham Young expressed his concern

⁹²Joseph Smith, Discourse, 8 April 1844, in Ehat and Cook, *Words of Joseph Smith*, 262-372.

⁹³Joseph Smith, Discourse, 10 March 1844, *ibid.*, 331.

⁹⁴Gordon Irving, “The Law of Adoption: One Phase in the Development of Mormon Concept of Salvation, 1830-1900,” *BYU Studies* 14 (Spring 1974): 295.

at the kingdom-building competition that ensued: "Were I to say to the elders you now have the liberty to build up your kingdoms, one half of them would lie, swear, steal and fight like the very devil to get men and women sealed to them. They would even try to pass right by me and go to Jos[eph]." ⁹⁵

Perhaps such motivations underlay the schismatic behavior of some Council of Fifty members. James Emmett, for instance, was "stripped of his kingdom" because he had defied the Twelve. ⁹⁶ Sidney Rigdon had objected to the appointment of a "successor" because he believed that the "kingdom is to be built up to Jesus Christ through Joseph." ⁹⁷ Rigdon himself had been commissioned by Smith to "build up a kingdom" in Pittsburgh, which Young later acknowledged. ⁹⁸

Lyman Wight took the law of adoption to Texas. William Leyland and his sisters Sophia and Sarah were adopted as children of George Miller and Leyland's mother, Sophia Wallis Leyland. She had been sealed as Miller's plural wife in the Nauvoo Temple on 27 January 1846. "We were adopted into his family covenanting to be obedient to him as long as he acted the part of a father to us. And he also made a covenant to the same effect." Sophia Wallis Leyland, Miller's plural wife, died in Zodiac on 6 November 1848; and when Miller left the colony two years later, the three Leyland children—William, Sophia, and Sarah—refused to accompany him. Wight then adopted them "under the oath and covenant of the priesthood unto my [William's] salvation or damnation until I could save my father [Wight] and raise him to be a king and priest." ⁹⁹

Wight's motive in continuing to practice the law of adoption was to increase his dominion as "a king and priest." Wight's example also establishes that Brigham Young was not the source of the Law of Adoption, since he left Nauvoo before the completion of the temple. ¹⁰⁰ Obviously, both Wight and Young learned this doctrine from Smith.

⁹⁵Quoted in Wilford Woodruff, Journal, 16 February 1847.

⁹⁶Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 1:169.

⁹⁷*History of the Church*, 7:229.

⁹⁸Van Wagoner, *Sidney Rigdon*, 341.

⁹⁹Leyland, *Sketches*, 5, 10. Miller and two of his wives, Mary Fry and Elizabeth Bouton, joined Strang in October 1850; both wives had been sealed to Miller in the Nauvoo Temple.

CONCLUSION

It is clear that, for the eight men in this study, selected aspects of Joseph Smith's esoteric program held great import and motivated much of their post-martyrdom activities. Their responses were far from uniform. William Marks and Sidney Rigdon opposed Smith's practice of polygamy, while the nonschismatic Twelve—Miller, Wight, Cutler, William Smith, and Adams—held fast to the principle. In each case, opponents accused adherents of a certain teaching of being self-serving, and this accusation seems to have some validity in Lyman Wight's choice to follow the Fifty rather than the Twelve, since he held higher rank in the former. Also, because these men were recipients of the highest powers and knowledge articulated by Joseph Smith, some became a law unto themselves. Some aspects of Joseph's ideal measures seemed to exceed the capacity of a fallen and corrupt world. This reality was ignored by the overzealous who attempted to implement some facets too hastily and without enough consideration for pragmatic organization.

Six of them had been taught temple theology by Joseph Smith and had received the endowment during his lifetime. They, like Brigham Young and the nonschismatic Twelve and Fifty, saw these ordinances as a prerequisite to building the literal Kingdom of God. Those who had been made "kings and priests" felt themselves authorized to extend the boundaries of the Kingdom of God by establishing personal kingdoms. They felt empowered to "seal all they could" to themselves through making plural marriage, engendering posterity, and exercising the law of adoption. This pattern differed from the ecclesiastical order of the Church, assuring schism. But in retrospect, members of the Council of Fifty who viewed their commissions as inescapable duties placed upon them in commencing and expanding the Kingdom of God, were not prepared to see the issue in pragmatic or political terms. "Joseph's Measures," as they saw it, would prepare the world to receive the Christ as King of kings, ruling over the Kingdom of God on earth.

APPENDIX

These succinct sketches of the eight members of the Council of Fifty focused on their status during the lifetime of Joseph Smith.

¹⁰⁰Irving, "The Law of Adoption," 295.

George J. Adams (1819-80). Baptized 1840. Ordained high priest April 1841. Apostle (not member of the Twelve). Prominent figure and zealous missionary. Member of Fifty between 14 March and 11 April 1844. Polygamist. Did not receive temple ordinances.

Alpheus Cutler (1784-1864). Baptized 20 January 1833. Ordained high priest 1836. Member of Nauvoo High Council 6 October 1839. Member of Nauvoo Temple Committee 3 October 1840. Received endowment 12 October 1843 (Anointed Quorum). Appointed clerk of Fifty 10 March 1844. Member of Fifty 11 March 1844. Received fulness of priesthood 15 November 1843 (Lois Cutler received endowment 29 October 1843; fulness of priesthood 15 November 1843). Received temple ordinances in Nauvoo Temple anew with Lois Cutler; endowment 11 December 1845; temple marriage 16 January 1846; fulness of priesthood 16 January 1846. Entered into plural marriage as early as 1846.

James Emmett (1803-52/53). Baptized 1831. Former high councilor, Iowa stake. Member of Fifty 13 March 1844. Did not receive temple ordinances.

William Marks (1792-1872). Baptized before April 1835. Member of Kirtland High Council 3 September 1837. President of Kirtland Stake 1838. Appointed by revelation to be president of Far West Stake, 8 July 1838. President of Nauvoo Stake 5 October 1839. Received endowment 4 May 1842 (Anointed Quorum). Received fulness of priesthood 22 October 1843. Member of Fifty 19 March 1844. (Rosanna Marks received endowment 1 October 1843; fulness of priesthood 22 October 1843). William and Rosanna did not receive ordinances anew in Nauvoo Temple. Marks opposed plural marriage.

George Miller (1794-1856). Baptized 12 August 1839. Appointed by revelation to become bishop and member of Nauvoo House Association 19 January 1841. Ordained to bishopric February 1841. Appointed to preside over high priests quorum in Nauvoo 2 October 1841. Received endowment 4 May 1842 (Anointed Quorum). Received fulness of priesthood after Joseph Smith's death, 15 August 1844. Member of Fifty 11 March 1844. (Mary Catherine Miller received endowment 27 June 1844; fulness of priesthood 15 August 1844). Entered into plural marriage by 1846. George and Mary Catherine received temple ordinances in the Nauvoo Temple anew: endowment 10 December 1845; temple marriage 13 January 1846; fulness of priesthood 13 January 1846.

Sidney Rigdon (1793-1876). Baptized 14 November 1830. Ordained to presidency of high priesthood 8 March 1830. Appointed counselor to Joseph Smith in presidency of high priesthood 18 March 1833. Appointed

spokesman for Joseph Smith 12 October 1833. Received endowment 11 May 1844 (Anointed Quorum). Member of Fifty 19 March 1844. Did not receive fulness of priesthood. Opposed plural marriage. Did not receive temple ordinances anew in Nauvoo Temple.

William Smith (1811-94). Brother of Joseph Smith. Baptized 9 June 1830. Ordained apostle 15 February 1835. Member of Fifty 25 April 1844. Received endowment 12 May 1844 (Anointed Quorum). Did not receive fulness of priesthood. Entered plural marriage as early as 1845. Did not receive temple ordinances anew in Nauvoo Temple.

Lyman Wight (1796-1858). Baptized 14 November 1830. Member of Clay County high council 8 July 1834. Counselor in Adam-Ondi-Ahman Stake presidency 18 June 1838. Selected counselor in Zarahemla Stake presidency 19 October 1839. Member of committee to build Nauvoo Temple and Nauvoo House 19 January 1841. Ordained apostle 8 April 1841. Member of Fifty 18 April 1844. Received endowment 14 May 1844 (Anointed Quorum). Married first plural wife 1845. Did not receive fulness of priesthood. Did not receive temple ordinances anew in Nauvoo Temple.

AN LDS INTERNATIONAL TRIO, 1974-97

Kahlile Mehr

UNTIL THE CLOSING DECADES of the twentieth century, “Mormon” or “LDS” was a term that meant little or nothing in a vast international arena. Political, religious, and social circumstances inimical to missionary work abetted this situation. However, beginning in 1974 the Church mounted three unique initiatives to expand the outer edges of its stakes and missions: (1) the appointment of David Kennedy as the Church’s ambassador-at-large, (2) an expanded scope for the International Mission, and (3) the founding of an International Affairs Office in Washington, D.C. These three unpublicized initiatives functioned outside normal priesthood channels, quietly renegotiating the outer boundaries of the Church’s international presence. Operating behind the scenes, they made first contact with government leaders whose permission would allow the Church to send in missionaries or otherwise establish its presence and propound its message.

The Church established its presence in Great Britain, Europe, and the South Pacific during the nineteenth century. In the twentieth century, it progressed into Latin America and Asia. However, there was an untouched realm on the other side of the globe from the Church’s headquarters in Salt Lake City: the Communist coun-

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tries, the Muslim world, and the vast expanses of black Africa. Much remained for the Church to accomplish its proclaimed destiny of preaching the gospel to all peoples. In examining these three initiatives, we see the Church using flexible and realistic approaches in the face of seeming impasses.

Seventy-three-year-old Harold B. Lee, a virtual youth among LDS Church prophets of the later twentieth century, died abruptly in December 1973. The next senior apostle, Spencer W. Kimball, who had had serious health problems since 1948, had fully hoped to pass on before Lee, thus avoiding the heavy burden of being the prophet.¹ Four months later, Kimball, a smallish, self-effacing man, walked to the podium at the semi-annual Regional Representative seminar on 4 April 1974 and electrified his audience by outlining an ambitious missionary effort that would take the gospel to all ends of the earth. "My brethren, I wonder if we are doing all we can," he challenged gently. "Are we complacent in our approach to teaching all the world? We have been proselyting now for 144 years. Are we prepared to lengthen our stride? To enlarge our vision?"² Gordon B. Hinckley, then a member of the Twelve, later recalled it as "the greatest talk ever given in these seminars. . . . None of us can ever be quite the same after that."³

THE INTERNATIONAL AMBASSADOR

Kimball knew that the fulfillment of this vision was, in part, a matter of persuading unwilling government leaders to listen to Church representatives. Accordingly, at this Regional Representative meeting he announced the calling of David M. Kennedy as the Special Representative of the First Presidency. Kennedy, former U.S. Secretary of the Treasury, had an impeccable reputation, a dignified presence, and unmatched international contacts obtained during a distinguished career in banking and government service.⁴

¹Edward L. Kimball and Andrew E. Kimball Jr., *Spencer W. Kimball* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1978), 402.

²Spencer W. Kimball, "When the World Will Be Converted," *Ensign*, October 1974, 5.

³Quoted in Edward L. Kimball, *Spencer W. Kimball* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1978), 416.

⁴Under David M. Kennedy's leadership the Continental Bank and Trust Company of Chicago became the seventh largest bank in the United

Kimball told the Regional Representatives, "I have a vision that probably Brother Kennedy and others may assist the Twelve in finding the keys that have apparently been lost to many nations wherein we can open those worlds."⁵

Before Lee's death, the First Presidency, of which Kimball was not a member, had discussed with Kennedy the Church's need to obtain recognition in countries where it did not yet have missionaries, to help solve visa problems in countries where it was established, and to deal with foreign government agencies in Washington, D.C. The appointment was postponed because of Lee's death, but Kimball quickly confirmed the initiative and extended the unprecedented calling.⁶

Though not ordained as a General Authority, Kennedy had immediate access to the First Presidency, received assignments only from them, and reported only to them. He and Kimball met frequently to examine countries one by one, exploring the possibilities each offered. Kimball advised him to keep the other members of the First Presidency updated but did not stipulate similar briefings for other General Authorities.⁷ This situation placed Kennedy outside the normal channels of Church governance. Scripture assigns the

States and established branches in many foreign countries. For sixteen years, he was a counselor in the Chicago Stake presidency. From 1969 to 1970, he served as Secretary of the Treasury under Richard M. Nixon, a position second only to the Secretary of State in the cabinet. No other member of the LDS Church has held a higher position in the U.S. government. From 1970 to 1972 he served as ambassador-at-large for the United States where his negotiations on monetary and trade matters took him to many international capitals. Prior to his calling as Special Representative of the First Presidency, he was bishop of the Capitol Ward in Washington, D.C. The David M. Kennedy Center for International Studies at Brigham Young University was established in 1983 to continue his focus on international relations. David M. Kennedy Center for International Studies, home page, Kennedy.byu.edu/Kennedy/dmk/obituary.htm

⁵Kimball, "When the World Will be Converted," 6.

⁶Martin Berkeley Hickman, *David Matthew Kennedy: Banker, Statesman, Churchman* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and the David M. Kennedy Center for International Studies, 1987), 334-35.

⁷*Ibid.*, 336-37, 343.

prerogative for taking the gospel to the world to the Quorum of the Twelve. In his new role, Kennedy thus had an assignment that overlapped that of the Twelve, but there is no evidence that they found his efforts unwelcome. Rather, they sought his counsel; and when they needed a high-level contact, he provided it.⁸ In time, some of the apostles followed the trails Kennedy blazed, presenting the Church's case to high government officials and negotiating official recognition with leaders of nations unacquainted with the Church.

Kennedy served as the international ambassador for sixteen years, his role diminishing over time as others began to take up some of his duties and as his advancing age took its toll. His schedule was arduous. During his first two years (1974-76), he visited Lebanon, Greece, Portugal, Thailand, India, Pakistan, Yugoslavia, the Philippines, Hungary, Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Iran, and Egypt. At the end of his tenure in 1988 he was still traveling extensively, visiting Jordan, Turkey, Israel, Switzerland, Portugal, and several countries in Asia. In making contact with foreign governments, he would typically visit the minister of finance, who was usually someone he knew from his government service, and then ask that minister to introduce him to the person with authority over granting legal status to the Church. To this minister, he explained the purpose of the Church and its commitment to abide by the laws of the country. This last point was significant because countries that required Kennedy's intervention were those where the government or the culture constrained religious freedom.⁹

Among his most notable successes was the first breach of the Communist iron curtain. In Poland in September 1975, Kennedy became acquainted with Kazimierz Kakol, Minister of Religion. Kennedy returned in May and November 1976, pursuing negotiations for Church recognition in earnest. While his sessions with Kakol had been cordial and he felt that he had established a warm rapport with the minister, after the November visit the only response was silence. In May 1977 Kennedy made a last-minute decision to visit Warsaw to make another effort. In their meeting, Kakol presented the unsuspecting Kennedy with a neatly bound folder containing a docu-

⁸Blaine Tueller, telephone interview, 18 February 1998. I conducted all interviews cited herein; notes in my possession. Tueller was administrative assistant to David Kennedy, 1987-90.

⁹Hickman, *David M. Kennedy*, 345-47; Tueller, interview.

ment. Although Kennedy could not read Polish, he knew what it was. He told the minister with emotion that it was the first recognition ever granted in Eastern Europe and that its signing would be an eventful day for the Church in Europe. In response, Kakol picked up a pen and signed the document.¹⁰

This legal recognition gave the Church the right to own property, conduct worship services, distribute literature, and to have representatives in the country. These representatives could answer questions but were not permitted to proselyte. It was not all that Kennedy had desired, but it was a significant change for the better. Kimball was delighted with the news and, in August 1977, dedicated Poland for the teaching of the gospel. He was the first and only LDS Church president to enter the Communist realm before its collapse in 1989.¹¹

Kennedy had other notable successes in Portugal, where the government granted recognition in 1974, and in Greece, where in 1981 the Church was able to purchase a facility in Athens that was recognized as a "house of worship." He made sufficient progress in Muslim Iran that a mission was established there in July 1975 before being swept away by the Islamic revolution in 1979. After the memorable June 1978 revelation permitted priesthood ordination for all worthy male members, Kennedy actively began negotiations with the nations of black Africa.¹²

While pursuing national level recognition, Kennedy handled other matters. He was at the forefront of resolving missionary visa problems in countries where the Church operated, and he dealt with other international crises as they arose. For example, in 1989 he went to Grenada to begin the process of reinstating missionaries who had been ordered to leave by the government.¹³

Along with confronting issues, Kennedy contributed significantly by engendering personal goodwill on countless occasions that worked to the Church's benefit. Blaine Tueller, Kennedy's assistant from 1987 to 1990, observed that whenever he called to make an

¹⁰Hickman, *David M. Kennedy*, 350-57.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 353-55.

¹²*Ibid.*, 343-50; "Historical Events in the Land of Greece" in *Europe Area Historical Report, August 15, 1986-August 15, 1989* (Frankfurt: Europe Area Office, 1989), 465.

¹³Tueller, interview.

appointment or other arrangements for Kennedy to meet with an individual, the response was invariably positive and immediate. Kennedy turned official contacts into personal friends and maintained warm ties with them; when he needed assistance for the Church, they responded positively.¹⁴ Carlos E. Asay of the Seventy, who worked with Kennedy in the early 1980s as executive director of the Missionary Department, was impressed with his quiet but effective manner and never saw him meet an official who did not greet him warmly and respectfully.¹⁵

Besides his visits to international capitals, Kennedy sought out foreign diplomats in Washington, D.C. He knew that the ambassadors and their staffs were often much better informed about the Church than the minister of religion in the home country because they could witness it firsthand. Working with them in the United States rather than traveling abroad averted many problems much more conveniently.¹⁶ The International Affairs Office eventually assumed these responsibilities.

Kennedy hoped that his position, or at least his function, would be institutionalized as a small cadre of foreign area experts at Church headquarters. This was not to be. The expansion of the Church's international organization in the form of area offices and area presidencies in the 1980s obviated the need for such an office at its headquarters in Salt Lake City. At the same time, some apostles began to take a more active role in dealing with high government officials. For example, from 1987 to 1990, Apostle Russell M. Nelson frequented the offices of governments in Eastern Europe and exerted an immeasurable influence in bringing the gospel to the nations that emerged from the former Soviet sphere. When Kennedy was released in April 1990, he realized that his office was no longer needed. Still, his legacy continues not only in countries where he opened the door for the Church but also in the work of Church leaders whom he tutored in statesmanship.¹⁷

THE INTERNATIONAL MISSION

As originally conceived, the International Mission was to serve

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Carlos E. Asay, interview, 11 December 1997, Salt Lake City, Utah.

¹⁶Hickman, *David M. Kennedy*, 356-57.

¹⁷Tueller, interview.

Church members rather than prospective members. Created in December 1972 it provided a point of contact between Church headquarters and members living outside the confines of stakes and missions. Bernard P. Brockbank, an Assistant to the Twelve, served as its president from 1972 to 1975, reporting to Howard W. Hunter of the Twelve rather than to the Missionary Department. Brockbank, who served without counselors, kept in touch with scattered members mostly through the mail. When the mission was created, the Church was aware of about 500 members needing this contact. Apparently the timing was good because, by the end of Brockbank's presidency in 1975, approximately 1,400 members were being served.¹⁸

In June 1975, the nature of the mission underwent a significant metamorphosis. W. Grant Bangerter, president of a mission in Portugal and former president of a mission in Brazil, was called as an Assistant to the Twelve with responsibility for the International Mission. Kimball expanded the scope of the mission, transferring to him responsibility for members in Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Greece, Egypt, and Iran, all previously under the Swiss Mission. Bangerter created a more formal Church structure by calling district presidents in Greece, Saudi Arabia, Israel, and Turkey, to supervise Church members, most of them U.S. expatriates. At the beginning of his term over the International Mission, Kimball also appointed Bangerter to supervise three missions whose existence was not announced publicly until they were on a firm basis. These missions included Portugal, where he had been serving, and two new missions in Yugoslavia, and Iran. Thus, the International Mission also began to supervise missionaries.¹⁹

Even more significantly, beginning in September 1977 Bangerter called special representatives, always senior couples, first to Poland where Kennedy had obtained recognition for the Church and then to countries where the Church was not yet recognized. The idea of older couples serving missions was not new but their purpose was. They were to seek recognition for the Church where possible,

¹⁸"Mission Organized to Aid Unattached," *Church News*, 16 December 1972, 4, 6; "The Ends of the Earth," *Ensign*, April 1974, 7; Jack Jarrard, "Unique Mission Serves World," *Church News*, 1 February 1975, 3, 12.

¹⁹W. Grant Bangerter, interview, 18 February 1998, Alpine, Utah.

to sustain handfuls of isolated members quietly, and to answer the questions of interested persons. Their public profile was less conspicuous than that of younger missionaries and they could thus carry on their work without attracting undesirable attention.

The first to serve were Matthew and Marion Ciembronówicz from Rockport, Illinois. Ciembronówicz had accompanied Kennedy as an interpreter during his visits to Poland in 1976 and 1977. Born of Polish parents in Illinois, he was an old acquaintance from the period when Kennedy lived in Chicago. The Ciembronówiczs went into Poland for spans of ninety days from 1977 to 1979, leaving every three months as required to renew their visas. They traveled extensively throughout Poland to visit members and to answer the questions of nonmember contacts.²⁰ They defrayed expenses by staying with relatives.²¹ On at least three occasions, Matthew left Marion at home in Illinois while he went to Poland alone. Because the government had recognized the Church in Poland, Ciembronówicz was permitted to perform baptisms. The first baptismal service was held in August 1978 and eight were baptized at a Baptist Church in Poznan; the Polish Ministry of Religion had selected this site for the ordinance.²² Ciembronówicz baptized a total of fourteen before his service ended.²³

With Bangerter's appointment, the nature of the mission changed in two other ways. First, he was given two counselors—Percy Fetzner and Edwin Q. Cannon, both former mission presidents and both of Salt Lake City—creating a presidency for the International Mission. Second, the presidency was authorized to travel as part of their assignment. Bangerter coordinated his efforts with Kennedy and reported directly to an apostle, first Hunter, then, beginning in 1976 to Thomas S. Monson.

Although the International Mission had missionaries and a presidency—the traditional apparatus of a mission—its alignment outside of normal channels was unique. For one thing, most of its

²⁰Matthew Ciembronówicz, telephone interview, 4 December 1996.

²¹Matthew Ciembronówicz, telephone interview, 18 December 1996.

²²Matthew Henry Ciembronówicz, letters to Marion Ciembronówicz, 14 April 1978, and 7 August 1978, Historical Department Archives, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter LDS Church Archives).

²³Ciembronówicz interview, 4 December 1996.

operations were kept confidential much like those of Kennedy's.²⁴ It was another measure of Kimball's creativity in expanding the scope of missionary operations beyond traditional channels.

At the same time, however, Kimball was laying the groundwork for a permanent structure. Church administration was significantly modified in 1976 when the globe was organized into units called "areas," each with a supervisor drawn from the newly reconstituted First Quorum of Seventy with line responsibility to make executive decisions. Area supervision took firm root as area offices came into being in the late 1970s and area presidencies were established in 1984. This administrative structure was a significant step in expanding the Church's international organization, an organization that would eventually assume the duties of both David Kennedy and the International Mission.

In addition to Poland, Bangerter sent special representatives to Sri Lanka and Mauritius during his tenure. In July 1977, James E. Faust, then in the Presidency of the Seventy, succeeded him, was called to the Quorum of the Twelve in October 1978, and was released as International Mission president four months later in January 1979. Thus, Faust was serving when the June 1978 revelation granting priesthood to all worthy male members made the Church's entry into black Africa more realistic. A Church representative, Lamar S. Williams of the Missionary Department staff, had visited Nigeria three times between 1961 and 1965. Problems with visas and a civil war in 1966 curtailed extended contact. The First Presidency (then consisting of David O. McKay, Hugh B. Brown, and N. Eldon Tanner) decided to suspend further action knowing that the inability to grant the priesthood to blacks would seriously disable an effective Church organization there.²⁵ This problem evaporated in June 1978. On 27 September 1978, Faust called Rendell Mabey and Rachel Wilson Mabey as special representatives to Nigeria and Ghana with Edwin Q. Cannon, still in the mission presidency, and his wife, Janath Russell Cannon, following on 30 October. Mabey and Cannon had both served as presidents of the Swiss Mission when it had administrative responsibility for Africa. Attending the Regional Rep-

²⁴Bangerter, interview.

²⁵For detailed information on the experiences of Lamar Williams, see James B. Allen, "Would-Be Saints: West Africa Before the 1970 Priesthood Revelation," *Journal of Mormon History* 17 (1991): 207-47.

representatives seminar in October 1978, Mabey listened intently as Kimball said:

We have the obligation, and duty, a divine commission to preach the gospel to every nation and to every creature. . . . We feel the Spirit of the Lord is brooding over the nations to prepare the way for preaching the gospel. . . . When we think of nations like China, the Soviet Union, India, the whole continent of Africa and our Arab brothers and sisters—hundreds of millions of our Father's children— this seems to be on my mind as I consider how big the world is now and how many people are waiting for us to move forward.²⁶

Kimball then read letters from correspondents in Africa pleading to be baptized. Mabey was stirred by this message but did not fully realize that they soon would become flesh-and-blood realities whom he would baptize.²⁷

The four special representatives attended an unusual farewell meeting in the conference room of the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve on 3 October 1998. Present were the First Presidency (then consisting of Kimball, N. Eldon Tanner and Marion G. Romney), Faust and Asay, and David Kennedy. They were counseled for forty minutes on their new assignment. It was not the normal missionary send-off. Nor was their mission humdrum. When they returned to the United States after a year, the Church had 1,700 new members in black Africa.²⁸ Some of the people of Ghana and Nigeria had waited for missionaries for nearly two decades and were very responsive to gospel representatives when they arrived to establish the Church. It was particularly gratifying to Cannon who, during his service as a counselor in the International Mission presidency, had interviewed a black member converted while a student at the University of Utah. Cannon had advised him to live gospel principles and be patient. He could now reward that patience.²⁹ In April 1980

²⁶Rendell N. Mabey and Gordon T. Allred, *Brother to Brother: The Story of the Latter-day Saint Missionaries Who Took the Gospel to Black Africa* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1984), 8, 15-17.

²⁷*Ibid.*

²⁸*Ibid.*, vii, 17-18.

²⁹Edwin Q. Cannon, letter to Spencer W. Kimball, 20 September 1978, Edwin Q. Cannon collection, 1965-80, LDS Church Archives.

the Church created the Africa West Mission and removed the territory that it covered from the International Mission.

In 1978 the International Mission sent special representatives Joseph T. Bentley and Kathleen Bench Bentley of Provo, Utah, to establish an unofficial presence in Hungary. Their assignment was to reside in Budapest from April 1978 to September 1979, "make friends, and prepare the way for regular missionaries."³⁰ They arrived with a list of people to contact. These included a handful of members, relatives and friends of Church members living elsewhere, and people who might be influential in helping the Church become reestablished in Hungary. Joseph Bentley's credentials as a former administrator and professor at Brigham Young University aided him in establishing cordial relations with important leaders in education and government as he helped the Church to seek recognition through legal channels. The Bentley apartment became a way station for other Church members and representatives. Kenneth Meyers, Austria Vienna Mission president, and various missionaries visited members in Hungary. David Kennedy dropped by while visiting high officials in the Hungarian government. David Farnsworth, legal counsel to the Church in Europe, visited several times to consult with lawyers about legal recognition.³¹ Farnsworth's presence was also broadly significant because he worked out of the Church's newly established area office in Frankfurt, a prototype of successor offices around the world that would promote the international growth and functioning of the Church.

The International Mission underwent another significant change when Asay was appointed to succeed Faust in January 1979 while he simultaneously continued to serve as executive director of the Missionary Department. Successive executive directors of the Missionary Department had the same dual assignment until 1987 when the International Mission was dissolved.³²

Asay sent a senior couple, Glen and Mildred Warner of Glenwood, Utah, to Vienna in November 1979 with a multi-country assignment to visit members in Poland, Hungary, and Yugoslavia. The Warners had been slated to go to Ghana but had waited for months

³⁰Mabey and Allred, *Brother to Brother*, 141.

³¹Joseph T. Bentley, *Life and Family of Joseph T. Bentley: An Autobiography* (Provo, Utah: J. Bentley, 1982), 141-64.

³²Asay, interview.

without obtaining a visa. After the unexpected wait, they received an equally unexpected phone call asking if they could leave the next day for Vienna. They drove regularly into the countries of Eastern Europe, visiting and sustaining the faith of scattered members. They also helped supervise a handful of young missionaries who had entered Yugoslavia on student visas in February 1978. These missionaries could not proselyte but could respond to inquiries. They were to maintain a low profile. As permitted under this unusual circumstance, the missionaries wore casual clothes and let their hair grow to shoulder length. The Warners visited them in Yugoslavia and provided a vital link to Bryant Smith, president of the Vienna Austria Mission, under whose direction the young missionaries served.³³ Glen Warner, humorously reflecting the situation faced by this isolated group of elders, referred to them as the "dirty dozen."³⁴

The International Mission called approximately sixty senior couples as special representatives in 1977-84.³⁵ They worked in obscurity during a time when progress was barely discernible. An isolated handful, they administered to scattered souls, hoping for the day when the Church in its fullness could function in the countries where they served.

During the 1980s, area presidencies began to assume responsibility for members outside stakes and missions and, in concert with the Twelve, began to seek recognition in the offices of foreign governments. As a natural progression, the anomalous International Mission's functions were reabsorbed into regular Church channels. In August 1987 the Church dissolved the International Mission.³⁶

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS OFFICE

In 1984 the Public Affairs Department opened an office in Washington, D.C., and appointed Beverly Campbell as its first direc-

³³Mildred Warner, telephone interview, 3 December 1996.

³⁴Everett Smith, interview, 22 June 1995, Kingston, Canada. The term "dirty dozen" is an allusion to a movie of the same name dealing with World War II. Smith was an early missionary to Yugoslavia.

³⁵Asay interview. He estimated that about fifty were called during his term of service. Adding those who were called before him, the total is about sixty.

³⁶"International Mission Discontinued; Lands Are Now Supervised by Area Presidencies," *Church News*, 26 September 1987, 5.

tor.³⁷ She came to the job with significant public relations experience.³⁸ In 1979 she had received a Church calling to assist Ralph Hardy, the Northeast Area Public Affairs Director, with public relations in the Washington, D.C., area. She served as the Church spokesperson on the Equal Rights Amendment during that period

³⁷The International Affairs Office grew out of the public relations efforts of the Church. In the late 1960s the Church's policy of denying the priesthood to African American males made it the object of national scorn and demonstrations directed mainly at Brigham Young University sports teams. Harold B. Lee, called as a counselor in the Church's First Presidency in 1970, requested advice from Church leaders and prominent LDS businessmen in the eastern United States on how to counter attacks on the Church. As acting president of the Quorum of the Twelve, Spencer W. Kimball attended meetings in mid-February 1970 to discuss the matter. Francis M. Gibbons, *Spencer W. Kimball: Resolute Disciple, Prophet of God* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1995) 261-62. In 1972 the Church established the Department of Public Communications to produce favorable radio and television programs, maintain good press relations, direct the work of LDS visitors centers, and coordinate pageants. Kimball envisioned the use of the mass media to proclaim the gospel and made it a major theme in his address to the Regional Representatives in April 1974. Areas began to help shoulder the public relations responsibility in the late 1970s.

³⁸From 1967 to 1971, Beverly Campbell served as the director of community relations for Special Olympics, Inc., where she played a major role in the development of Special Olympics for disabled children, a program that now serves millions of children around the world. From 1971 to 1975 she was coordinating director of the Joseph P. Kennedy Jr. Foundation, managing daily operations including liaison with key national and international organizations. She operated her own public relations firm, 1976-79, known as Campbell, Peachey and Associates. During her career, she has served on many national boards, commissions, and committees including the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the Presidential Commission Against Drunk Driving, and the National Advisory Committee for the Independent Sector. In addition to her international work for the Church, she has served on the board of directors of the Polish Breast Cancer Awareness Foundation; assisted Mrs. Liana Dubinin, wife of the former Soviet ambassador to the United States, in establishing Children of Crisis; and also assisted Mrs. Mugabe, former first lady of Zimbabwe, with her Child Survival Foundation. Beverly Campbell, Resumé, copy in my possession.

and appeared on numerous regional and national television and radio shows to counter the negative exposure arising from the excommunication of feminist Sonia Johnson. As director of the newly created office in 1984, she had the responsibility to develop contacts and foster a positive and accurate Church presence in the national and international media with the hope that this activity would alleviate problems and misunderstandings encountered as the Church expanded into other nations.³⁹

Over time it became obvious to Campbell that the shotgun approach of trying to reach individuals through media campaigns was less effective than getting accurate and useful information directly into the hands of policy makers in other countries. She found that in most countries the Church was viewed as an American institution and that, when problems arose in a particular country, that government would ask its U.S. embassy for further information. Embassy staff would typically do research at public libraries or in the media, often acquiring negative or misleading information that they did not have the means to adequately evaluate. It seemed to her that providing embassies and ambassadors with first-hand knowledge and personal acquaintances with Church leaders and members would be the best means of presenting the Church's position and purposes. Thus began the process of establishing personal contacts between ambassadors, prominent Mormons in the Washington, D.C., area, and Church leaders responsible for the various countries of the world. Over time, her responsibility expanded to include United Nations delegations in New York City. In 1987 her office was given the additional title of International Affairs, and her efforts to create contacts became her primary focus. Staff was added to take over the day-to-day working with the media. In 1989 International Affairs became a separate entity with Campbell as its director.

Unlike Kennedy, Campbell worked primarily with the Quorum of Twelve rather than the First Presidency. Each apostle had an assignment as "first contact" for a specific group of countries that

³⁹Beverly Campbell, telephone interviews, 30 January 1997, and 15 January 1998; Lee Davidson, "Ambassador Opens Doors for LDS Church," *Deseret News*, 4 October 1997, A-1, A-3. Except as otherwise noted these are the sources for the rest of this section. Sister Campbell reviewed this section, providing helpful suggestions and further information.

rotated periodically. She worked with the Twelve to help resolve issues in the countries of current concern to them. She also differed from Kennedy in that she did not represent herself as a negotiator but rather laid the groundwork so that those with authority to make decisions could negotiate from a positive position. Her responsibility consisted of providing access to foreign officials for others. In doing so, she pursued efforts to multiply the number of LDS businessmen, politicians, and others whom foreign dignitaries knew by providing low-key occasions for them to meet at various private and public functions. These initiatives ranged from quiet diplomacy as she hosted dinners for ambassadors and other key embassy officials in her home to the evolution of the Washington Temple Christmas lighting ceremony as an international event. The private dinners provided an atmosphere conducive to cultivating personal contacts and engaging in substantive talks, interacting in a manner not possible in a more formal setting. On the other hand, the temple lighting ceremony provided affirmation to the public of cordial relations between the Church and foreign representatives.

Developing the international aspect of the temple lighting ceremony actually harkened back to the late 1970s when she worked with Ralph Hardy prior to the creation of the International Affairs Office,⁴⁰ but the event continued to develop throughout her tenure as director of that office. She saw the ceremony as an opportunity to acquaint ambassadors with the temple grounds and to reinforce the fact that Mormons are Christian. She also promoted the addition of more lights, until, in 1998, they totaled 300,000. She also was responsible for the addition of a lighting ceremony on the second night for embassy staff and key press personnel. To interest other embassy

⁴⁰The Festival of Lights at the Washington, D.C., Temple originated in 1977. It was patterned after the lighting display at the Salt Lake Temple. It included not only lights but Christmas trees decorated by stakes on display in the Visitors Center and singing by ward choirs. It became more expansive over time and now is a major kick-off event for a month-long Christmas celebration. After the lighting ceremony comes a month of musical performances, a majority by nonmembers. Another attraction is a live nativity scene and, more recently, a display of fifteen to twenty nativities from around the world. Jalynn Prince, telephone interview, 10 November 1998). Prince helped institute and develop the event as a member of the LDS Public Communications Council in the area.

officials in visiting during the month-long event, she inaugurated four international Christmas trees decorated with dolls of all nations. These included dolls borrowed from embassies and dolls designed and made by LDS Young Women groups in the Washington, D.C., area.

The ambassador of Mauritius was the first foreign emissary to attend the ceremony, at the invitation of David King, who had previously served as ambassador to that country. The drawing power of this event has increased over time. In 1988 ambassadors or embassy officials from Brazil, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Guatemala, Hungary, South Africa, and the Soviet Union attended.⁴¹ In 1998 ambassadors and diplomats from fifty-one nations, LDS members of Congress, members of the media, local government, business and religious leaders were present.⁴²

The event publicly confirms the positive relations between the Church and foreign diplomats. Since 1990 a host ambassador has been asked to join a Church dignitary in turning on the lights, thus symbolizing an increase in international goodwill, understanding, and the divine influence in human affairs.

Another important family event was added in October 1991 with the inauguration of an annual picnic held at the Marriott ranch in northern Virginia. The western theme capitalized on the interest of most foreigners in the American heritage of cowboys and Indians. Along with a barbecue, the guests listened to a western band, donned cowboy hats and bandannas provided by the hosts, rode in an authentic horse-drawn stagecoach, square-danced, and feasted on chicken, hamburgers, hot dogs, and hot cinnamon all-day suckers. Events were also provided for the children. The Peruvian ambassador evaluated the benefit of the event, "This was one of the most beautiful days my family and I have spent in Washington."⁴³

As ambassadors were being asked to vouch for the character of Church members in the resolution of issues raised in their countries, Campbell felt that they needed contact with large numbers of

⁴¹Lee Davidson, "Christmas Message Delivered Through Tools of Goodwill," *Church News*, 17 December 1988, 9.

⁴²Kathryn Baer Newman, "Ambassador Helps Turn On Yule Lights," *Church News*, 12 December 1998, 6.

⁴³Myrna Wahlquist, "Diplomats Get a Taste of Old West at Picnic," *Church News*, 26 October 1991, 11.

ordinary members as well as hearing the public addresses of Church leaders. She viewed the BYU Management Society dinners held annually in Washington, D.C., since 1984 as such an opportunity.⁴⁴ High-level diplomats and as many as a thousand church members have attended these annual events. They have listened to Church leaders and other prominent Mormons. In 1995 Apostle Boyd K. Packer addressed the group which included ambassadors and diplomats from twenty-six nations. Drawing an analogy between their work and that of the Church, he said, "I must confess to you that I belong to a family of ambassadors. Seven sons, three sons-in-law, and four grandsons have or are now serving missions as ambassadors to the world."⁴⁵ The dinner on 3 April 1999 was attended by diplomats from twenty-two countries and eight LDS members of Congress.⁴⁶

Campbell was often involved in activities outside Washington, D.C. As plans were being developed for the 1991 Mormon Tabernacle Choir tour of Eastern Europe, she saw it as a unique opportunity to promote the mutual acquaintance of Church leaders and the

⁴⁴The BYU Management Society is a gathering place for influential LDS business and government leaders and a training ground for aspiring young executives. During its formative years in the early 1980s the chapter in Washington, D.C., hosted luncheons where entrepreneurs and managers from around the country and their counterparts in the capital would discuss such divergent topics as the place of traditional values in society, the impact of women in the workplace, or the elements of presidential leadership. In 1988 quarterly night-time seminars were held in which executives explained how their organizations worked and what they did to manage the daily stresses and challenges of leadership. "BYU Management Society's Influence Grows in the U.S. Capital," *Church News*, 27 February 1988, 4. LDS authorities to speak have included Thomas S. Monson in 1989, Gordon B. Hinckley in 1994, and Boyd K. Packer in 1995. It has awarded a bronze bust of Abraham Lincoln as a Distinguished Public Service Award at these dinners. Recipients have included former Utah Senator Jake Garn; Dr. James Fletcher, twice head of NASA; Brent Scowcroft, National Security Advisor to George Bush; Admiral Paul A. Yost Jr., former commandant of the U.S. Coast Guard; and Rex E. Lee, president of BYU.

⁴⁵Alysa Hatch, "A Gathering of Diplomats," *Church News*, 1 April 1995, 4.

⁴⁶Megan K. Jones, "BYU Gala Receives a Record Turnout," *Deseret News Archives*, www.desnews.com, 3 April 1999.

new leaders of these emerging countries. She identified the new leadership not only in the government but also in business, education, science, and the arts— a difficult task in the face of the turmoil in Eastern Europe. She sought the financial backing and attendance of LDS businessmen to host dinners for those identified. Exemplary of the mutual appreciation encouraged by these dinners, the deputy minister of culture at the Moscow dinner said, “You are sending out your love and beauty, and we are looking for the same things.”⁴⁷

Problems sometimes arose in other countries that could not be handled in country or through the priesthood chain of command. These crises often found their way to Campbell’s office. As she sought solutions, her work was often facilitated, not only by the members of the diplomatic community but also by members of Congress, both LDS and non-LDS, key Congressional staff members, and business and educational officials.

One such example occurred in Albania. In 1991 there were no diplomatic relations between Albania and the U.S. Campbell contacted the Albanian U.N. delegation in New York and obtained permission for Church officials to enter the country. She sent information to the Europe Area Office in Frankfurt for that office to make arrangements for the visit of Europe Area President Hans Ringger and Apostle Dallin Oaks. Nevertheless, when the two Church officials arrived at the Tirana airport in April 1991, they were not permitted to leave the plane. Campbell spent the better part of the hours between 2 A.M. and 10 A.M. on the telephone with Albania’s U.N. office in New York and Albanian officials in Tirana trying to get the matter resolved. Through her efforts and Ringger’s forceful personality, the two were finally permitted to deplane.

With respect to international affairs, Campbell reported to the apostles. She received assignments from them and toward the end of her tenure, from area presidencies as well. Thus, like Kennedy and the International Mission, she worked outside normal Church channels. As with Kennedy, the position was created for the person rather than the position created and someone found to fill it.

Also, like both Kennedy and the International Mission, her office turned out to be ad hoc. The Church did not institutionalize

⁴⁷Jay M. Todd, “An Encore of the Spirit,” *Ensign*, October 1991, 36.

her office as a separate entity but merged it again with Public Affairs after she retired in 1997, reporting through normal channels to Salt Lake City. The burden of the international work has been assumed largely by area presidencies, diminishing the need for intervention by a central office. While the Public Affairs Office in Washington, D.C., continues to maintain the social events and personal contacts that have served the Church well, and continues to respond to crises as requested, its primary focus is no longer international.

During Campbell's tenure as director of International Affairs from 1987 to 1997, the Church achieved official recognition in thirty-nine countries.⁴⁸ Recognition had many different meanings, ranging from official approval for the full functioning of the Church, including open proselyting, to a tacit understanding that the Church could exist without being harassed. Much of this success is the result of historical dynamics beyond the control of governments or individuals, but the International Affairs Office put the Church in an active rather than passive mode in taking advantage of opportunities as they arose or even in creating opportunities where none had existed.

CONCLUSION

The trio of David Kennedy, the International Mission, and Beverly Campbell operated on the edges of the LDS hierarchy accomplishing informally what could not have been done so easily in the limelight. A Church president who fervently pursued a vision of the Church's ultimate destiny acted creatively in establishing them and giving them great latitude in which to operate when there was a need that could not be met by the regular institutions of the Church. As modern-day Eliases, they performed their functions and opened up the work for others to complete. The functions performed by this trio are now handled by area presidencies and area offices, administrative structures that developed during the 1980s. The effectiveness of these unpublicized and confidential outreach activities is difficult to judge for we can only surmise what situation the Church would now face had they not existed. The Mormon advance into all nations may well have expanded more fitfully and slowly.

Portions of the globe remain beyond the touch of the Church. The Muslim world astride the equator and mainland China are still

⁴⁸Davidson, "Ambassador Opens Doors," A-1.

virgin territory to LDS representatives except for some genealogical microfilming projects in China. Perhaps unorthodox methods will also breach these boundaries, unexpectedly, almost overnight, as we have witnessed in our day in Africa and Eastern Europe.

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

Richard Neitzel Holzapfel

*This essay inaugurates a new series for the **Journal of Mormon History** which will identify images (photographs, paintings, and other visual images) previously published with wrong information such as dating, source, originator, and subject and will provide updated and corrected information—thus setting the record straight and providing, as the series accumulates, a ready reference for future researchers and writers.*

INTRODUCTION

As primary sources of historical information, photographs, paintings, and illustrations provide a window to the past. Only recently, however, have they been considered important historical sources.¹ Indeed, researchers and repository staffs have only begun to appreciate the important contribution that photographs and other visual images can make to historical research. This has been particularly true of Mormon studies, where only a few historians have taken the time to use photographs as documentary evidence.

One excellent example is Michael Quinn's uses of an image previously published by William W. Slaughter as a document to help interpret a shift in activity among the LDS Church leadership.² The

¹The first call for Mormon historians to take the photographic record seriously is Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and T. Jeffery Cottle, "The City of Joseph in Focus: The Use and Abuse of Historic Photographs," *BYU Studies* 32 (1992): 249-68.

²William W. Slaughter, *Life in Zion: An Intimate Look at the Latter-day*

photograph shows “Church leaders and families at the Great Salt Lake, 1922.” Quinn, by “reading the photograph,” finds evidence that the Twelve and the First Council of Seventy mixed socially. “For example in 1922,” he writes, “apostles Joseph Fielding Smith, George Albert Smith, and James E. Talmage and their wives went to a swimming party with Seventy’s presidents J. Golden Kimball and John H. Taylor and their wives. This party included Presiding Patriarch Hyrum G. Smith and his wife, and Bishopric counselors David A. Smith and John Wells and their wives.”³

Museums, historical society archives, official Church repositories, university libraries, state archives, and private collections across the United States—particularly in the West—have preserved many visual images that are vital for the historical community interested in the Latter-day Saint past. In addition to preserving well-known images by celebrated photographers, artists, and illustrators, these repositories also house many little-known—and essentially unused—collections containing significant images by unknown amateurs, master documentarians, and the earliest photo-journalists. Some well-known repositories in Utah and Missouri, for example, contain spectacular yet rarely seen images that capture the Mormon experience.

Historians of the Mormon past should be aware of the unique and important perspective that visual images can provide. As non-print documents, they are artifacts—part of the fabric of the past—that one must learn to read. In particular, photographs depicting past events or prominent individuals provide valuable economic, social, historical, architectural, and genealogical details not available in traditional documents. To aid scholars in reading and using photographs and other nonprint visual images of the Mormon experience, this new series will provide examples of previously published images, correcting information about them (dating, photographer, and subject) as a starting point in taking the visual images of the Mormon past seriously as primary source documents.

In this first installment, I present three images that I have published, only to discover later problems with their presentation or

Saints (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1995), 129; D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997), 146.

³Quinn, *Extensions of Power*, 146.

how I identified them. I will provide the image, identify when and where it was published, and then provide information to correct the previous publication of the item. In the installments that follow, I will include other authors and publishers who have provided incorrect information about visual images in their works. However, I will not identify the author(s), publisher(s), and location of the misinformation.

My reason for this decision is that I want to encourage Mormon historians to use visual images oftener and better, not embarrass those who may have made a mistake. I feel that it goes without saying that no historian publishes misinformation because he or she doesn't care about accuracy. Rather, they almost certainly relied on the best information available to them. Since many Mormon-related images—particularly well-known ones—are published over and over with the same mistaken information, it would be unfair to single out one author or publisher for a particular problem when it has been wrongly published on numerous occasions.

THREE RECENT PROBLEMS

Using myself as the introductory example, however, will demonstrate some of the common problems that plague historians who use visual images. My book, *My Servant Brigham*, released in 1997,⁴ is actually the introduction to a much larger study of images of Brigham Young to be published by BYU's Religious Studies Center. This small volume adds valuable information and previously unpublished images of Brigham Young among the more than 100 graphics it includes. It nevertheless has three problems for which I am solely responsible and which represent common mistakes with other publications dealing with Utah and Mormon history topics.⁵

The first example is the way in which a full-length portrait of Brigham Young is reproduced. The text reads: "Brigham stands near a table with his left hand holding a book on the table, his right arm to a square with the hand holding his coat."⁶ However, the repro-

⁴Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and R. Q. Shupe, *My Servant Brigham: Portrait of a Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1997).

⁵Jed L. Woodworth correctly identifies some of the contributions of the book in his "Brief Notes," *BYU Studies* 38 (1999): 220-21.

⁶Holzapfel and Shupe, *My Servant Brigham*, 4. John Willard Clawson,



duction of the painting on the facing page shows Brigham holding the book in his *right* hand. In this case, the description is accurate; but, during printing, the negative was inadvertently reversed—a simple technical error that occurs easily. Evidence of the reversal, in addition to examining the original portrait, is that Brigham Young typically parted his hair on the left, not the right side. (Clawson does not show a clear part.) Another test, though not 100 percent reliable for the nineteenth century, is that men's clothing buttons with a left-hand hole over a right-hand button; women's clothing buttons in the opposite direction. This test is nearly always accurate for the more standardized twentieth century.

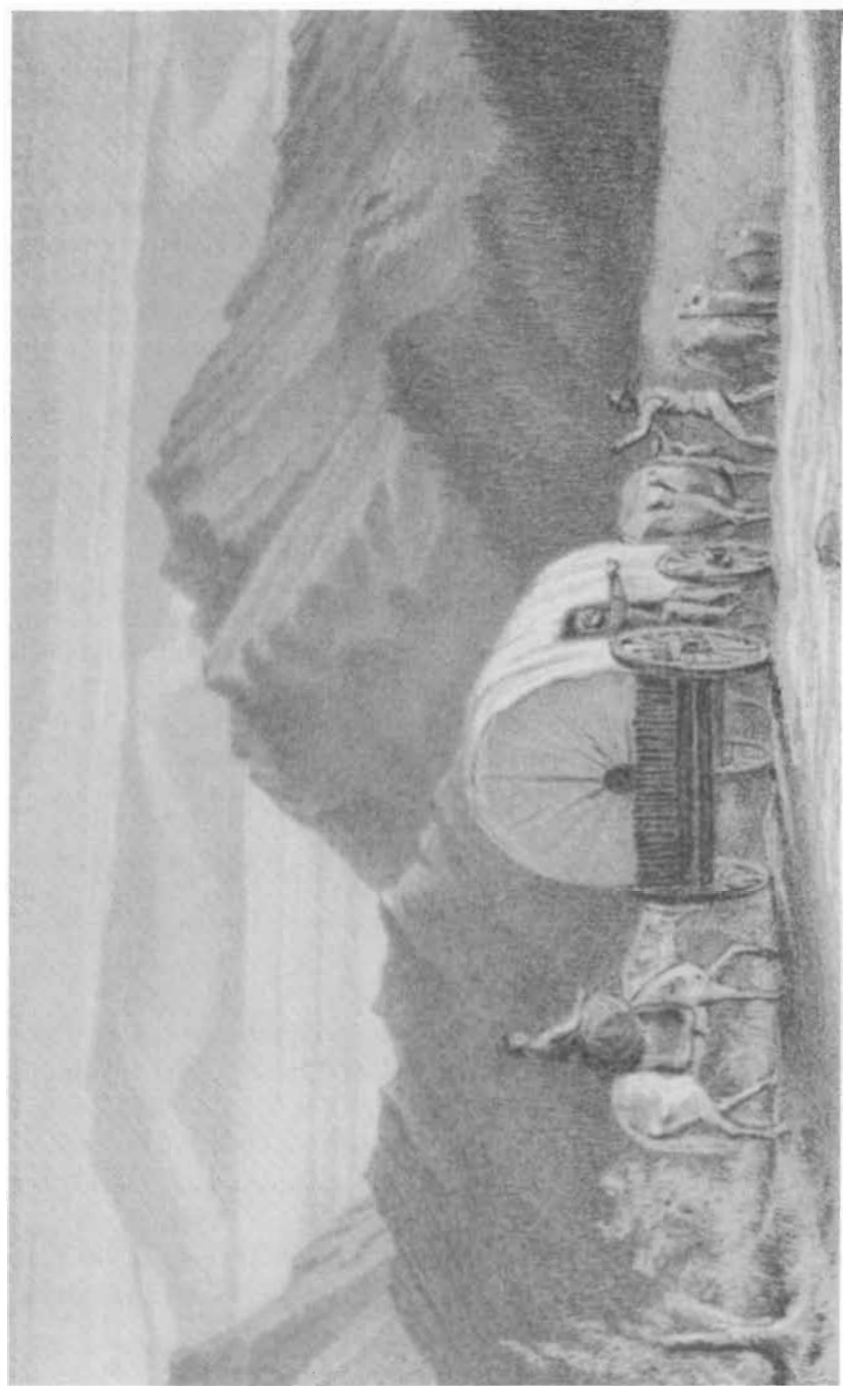
The *correction* of such a problem can be made only during subsequent printings of the book, when the author is faced with either the unpleasant alternative of explaining what was wrong in the first printing (which can be embarrassing) or making the correction silently and risking the reader's confusion.

The *prevention* of this kind of problem is that the author must insist on seeing the art in place at the page-proof stage, not waiting until the most expensive and time-consuming blueline stage. It is more common now, in these days of electronic production, for the author to see page proofs with "windows"—keylined spaces left on the page for the photograph. While correctly showing the dimensions and the caption, such a method fails to show the image itself.

a grandson of Brigham Young, painted this image after Young's death in 1877 but preserves Clawson's memory of him during 1874-75, gazing beyond the canvas with deep blue eyes that contrast with the graying beard.

Original caption: *Brigham Young, oil on canvas, 71" x 40" (180.3 cm x 102.9 cm), ca. 1882, John Willard Clawson (1858-1936), Museum of Art, Brigham Young University. Brigham's left hand holds a book while his right hand grips his coat. This portrait (reproduced correctly here) is currently on display in the main hallway, second floor, Joseph Smith Building, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.*

Correction: *This caption accurately describes the original. However, as published in **My Servant Brigham**, the negative was reversed so that Brigham's right hand, not his left, was on the book.*



A variation of this problem—equally chilling for a Mormon historian—is to realize while holding the freshly printed copy that two images were inadvertently switched so that the captions do not relate to the images they accompany. This problem can happen very easily when the images follow one another, often facing each other on two pages, and particularly if they are the same size.

The second problem from the same book is an illustration that first appeared in Howard Stansbury's *An Expedition to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake of Utah* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1852). The caption in *My Servant Brigham* states: "Brigham Young's first view of the Valley," 1850 print from Howard Stansbury's "Exploration and Survey of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake."⁷

The substance of the caption information and the illustration appeared in numerous publications with which I was well familiar. The well-known image and the obvious match between the image and caption gave me no reason even to wonder about double-checking it. Recently, however, I was working on another project that called for this image. I decided to examine the original publication and, to my dismay, discovered that Stansbury's work had been published in 1852, not 1850. He was in Utah in 1850, but his description of the journey and visit were published two years later. Additionally, I found that his title was different from the form in which other

⁷Ibid., 77.

Original Caption: "Brigham Young's First View of the Valley," 1850 print from Howard Stansbury's "Exploration and Survey of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake."

Correct caption: "First View of the Great Salt Lake Valley, From a Mountain Pass," published in Howard Stansbury, *An Expedition to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake of Utah* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1852), plate between 84 and 85; Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, BYU. Note three common errors associated with this image: that this image is often mistakenly identified—as I did—as Brigham Young's first view of the valley, not Stansbury's, that it was first published in 1850 rather than 1852, and that Stansbury's work was titled "Exploration and Survey of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake."



scholars had cited it. Finally, and most shockingly, Stansbury's text accompanying the illustration made it quite clear that the scene depicted represented *Stansbury's* first view of the valley, not Brigham Young's. The pages just before the illustration review his arrival in the valley, including this word picture:

Descending the pass through dense thickets of small oak-trees, we caught the first glimpse of the GREAT SALT LAKE, the long-desired object of our search, and which it had cost us so many weary steps to reach. A gleam of sunlight, reflected by the water, and a few floating, misty clouds, were all, however, that we could see of this famous spot, and we had to repress our enthusiasm for some more favourable moment. . . . Emerging from the pass, we entered the valley of the Salt Lake, and descending some moderately high table-land, struck the road from the Mormon settlements to the lower fork of Bear River, whence, in two or three miles we came to what was called Brown's Settlement."⁸

Authors, including me, trustingly have assumed that the illustration which is often found in archives and libraries separate from the book must refer to Brigham Young and therefore connect the 1847 event with the 1852 illustration.

The third problematic image is not only connected to the dangers of relying upon previously published caption material but also of failing to carefully scrutinize the image itself. The *carte de visite* photograph of Caroline Partridge Young taken in about 1868 is a popular and fairly often used image. The caption in *My Servant Brigham* reads: "Caroline 'Carlie' Partridge Young, ca. 1868. Brigham Young's Daughter in 'Retrenchment Dress.' Courtesy Winnifred Cannon Jardine, Salt Lake City."⁹

This description is not correct. Caroline is not wearing "Re-

⁸Stansbury, *An Expedition to the Valley*, 83.

⁹Holzapfel and Shupe, *My Servant Brigham*, 111.

Original caption: *Caroline "Carlie" Partridge Young, ca. 1868 . . . in the "Retrenchment Dress . . ."*

Correct caption: *Caroline "Carlie" Partridge Young, ca. 1868-69 in the "Deseret Costume" inaugurated in 1852. Courtesy Winnifred Cannon Jardine, Salt Lake City. Common descriptions of this outfit as "Retrenchment Dress" are incorrect.*

trenchment Dress” but the “Deseret Costume.” The dating is particularly important, since the Retrenchment Association was organized by Brigham Young’s daughters in 1869 while the Deseret Costume grew out of a combination of health consciousness and pioneer economy about seventeen years earlier. The current Relief Society history states:

Concern for their sisters’ health led the Female Council of Health to design a dress style more practical and less constricting than the current tightly corseted fashion. In September 1852, about the time the famous “Bloomer” costume was being promoted by radical eastern women, Patty Sessions noted in her diary, “I went to Sister Smiths to help form a fashion for the females that will be more conducive to health than the long tight waisted dress filed with whale bone and hickery that they ware now.” The “Deseret costume,” then publicly modeled by Eliza R. Snow, consisted of a loose-fitting, high-collared blouse, full skirt about mid-calf in length, and full pantaloons to the ankle. In deference to Brigham Young’s pleas that the women not drain the economy by ordering eastern fabrics, the costume was to be made of homespun.¹⁰

A second contemporary report of the “Deseret Costume” appears in the *New York Herald*: “The ladies from Utah have adopted a new costume, which seems to be gradually increasing in favor. It consists of a loose fitting dress, resembling, in cut, a man’s sack coat, being buttoned in front and reaching a few inches below the knees, a pair of pantalets adorning the ankles, and a leghorn hat set jauntily upon the head, being in fact a modification of the Bloomer costume. The ladies are thus relieved of a superabundant load of petticoats and their husbands are freed from paying for more than two-thirds the usual quantity of dry good—no small items of expense in this country.”¹¹

The two sources above provide a word-picture of the “Deseret

¹⁰Jill Mulvey Derr, Janath Russell Cannon, and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, *Women of Covenant: The Story of Relief Society* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 71.

¹¹Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (chronology of typed entries and newspaper clippings, 1830-present), 20 September 1855, LDS Church Archives. Despite Brigham Young’s efforts to introduce this costume over a four or five year period, no one—including his own wives—adopted it.

Costume” that very closely resembles the outfit in which Caroline Partridge Young had her photograph taken. How did the wrong name and date get attached to this photograph? I conjecture that Caroline Partridge Young (1851-1903) probably found the 1850s costume in the trunk of her mother, Emily Dow Partridge Young, and was playing “dress-up” in the late 1860s when she would have been in her late teens. The photograph may capture that moment. Another possibility is that Brigham Young or Eliza R. Snow asked Caroline to pose in the “Deseret Costume” about 1869 to show a new generation of young women appropriate dress. From her expression and demeanor, Caroline may have complied unwillingly, a possibility Jardine suggests.

Fortunately, the provenance of the photograph and Caroline’s identity are crystal clear. Caroline gave the photograph to her son, whose daughter, Winnifred Cannon Jardine, is the source of the photograph. Since Grandmother Emily lived very frugally for most of her life and sewed most of her family’s clothing, it is a strong probability that the costume was her own.

CONCLUSION

These three problems in *My Servant Brigham* highlight some of the traps for the unwary authors, editors, and publishers of many books that use visual images to illustrate their narratives. Every photograph, painting, and illustration of the Mormon experience is a historical record to be carefully examined for the information it may contain. Each visual image says a little about a time and place. For the visually literate historian, historic photographs, paintings, and illustrations offer a valuable and largely untapped source of the study of Mormonism. Authors and publishers must use these primary sources as carefully as they would use a written primary source.

WHAT IS PATTY SESSIONS TO ME?

Donna Toland Smart

We could say that every mother contains her daughter in herself and every daughter her mother, and every woman extends backward into her mother and forwards into her daughter. This participation and inter-mingling give rise to that particular uncertainty as regards time; a woman lives earlier as a mother, later as a daughter. The conscious experience of these ties produces the feeling that her life is spread out over generations. The first step towards the immediate experience and conviction of being outside time, brings with it a feeling of immortality.¹

BEGINNING

When I began the ambitious work of editing the diaries of Patty Bartlett Sessions, I was clueless about where the project would lead. Admittedly, I did not know what I was doing or how to go about it. As an English major, I had learned to focus on the written word and then write *about* literature, *about* writers of note, some unforgettably good, some indifferent, some unforgettably bad. Patty Sessions's writings did not fit that format.

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¹C. J. Jung, quoted in Irene Claremont de Castillejo, *Knowing Woman* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1973), 58.

It was during the Mormon History Association annual meeting at Claremont College in California that I learned of Maureen Ursenbach Beecher's project of editing and publishing a series of diaries of Mormon women. "Who will they be?" I asked.

She named Patty Sessions second, after Eliza R. Snow whose papers Maureen had been working on for a long time.

"Oh," I remarked. "I know some Sessionses. I was baptized in a Sessions's bathtub."

"Would you like to do Patty Sessions?" Maureen asked. I wonder now if she was really serious or just making conversation.

"Oh, I'd love to," I answered. It sounded like a fun thing to do. I was between projects, having just finished my M.A. in English literature at the University of Utah, after having been ward Relief Society president, after having taught advanced junior English at East High School. Just that spring I had finished a six-year project working on the Coptic Encyclopedia with Egyptian scholars Dr. Aziz Atiya and his wife, Lola. The mothering of five children was largely over. My husband had retired from the *Deseret News*, meaning that my interesting involvement with his long career was at an end, although he still is a tough and exacting editor. I liked to be doing things, and I always had liked what I was doing. This sounded like just plain fun.

Besides, I was on my way to the Huntington Library for a week to research William Henrie, my pioneer ancestor, who came in Brigham Young's company in 1847, explored around Tooele Valley and Utah Valley, and in 1849 accompanied Parley P. Pratt's exploring party to Southern Utah. For kicks, I could also look for things about Patty Sessions.

Maureen counseled me to think about it, to contact Sessions family members for approval, and to get signed permission statements from them. From the Huntington I phoned one I knew and reported the positive response to Maureen, who told me to go ahead. I didn't find anything about William Henrie in the Huntington Library, but I spent my time copying the many entries about Patty from Eliza R. Snow's trail diary, written during the trek westward. They were bosom friends. That experience was fun, actually exhilarating.

Later that summer the Sessions family held a reunion in Bountiful. I invited myself to attend and described my project and enlisted their help. I couldn't have imagined such an outpouring of support! So I plunged ahead.

CHALLENGES

Getting started was hard. The first difficulty involved convincing professional historians that I was legitimate, that I really did have the go-ahead to transcribe Patty's diaries, and that I could be trusted. Since I was already insecure, I felt some trauma during that stage of the project. At the Historical Department Archives of the LDS Church, I typed from eye-straining microfilm every word Patty had scribbled. Then I was allowed to look at the originals. From that point on, everyone granted me full support.

My goal was to finish my job by Patty's two hundredth birthday on 4 February 1995. I did it, but there were glitches in the plan that delayed publication until 1997. I could never have foreseen that a simple copying of someone's diaries would require so much additional editing, revising, adding and subtracting—nor how many readers would expect revisions before they would give approval. I had compared my manuscript with the originals numerous times, the most enjoyable being reading aloud with women who share their bloodlines with Patty. How could anyone else question my work? USU Press with its rigorous academic standards could and did; consequently, the finished version was better.

During early stages, I had become so confused about all the persons who walked through the pages of Patty's life, that I had filled three boxes of Rolodex cards with names, including Patty's oft-changing phonetic spellings and the proper spellings, as far as I could verify them. The file included exact date or dates each individual was mentioned and information about his or her family. I had checked these details so often that I could barely remember how old I was. In short, after seven years I was tired of the whole thing. When *Mormon Midwife* was finally published in time for the Mormon History Association annual meeting in 1997 and I saw that there was an honest-to-goodness book, I felt gratitude to the publisher for putting everything together so well, closed the covers, and put Patty on the shelf. But she didn't stay there. Patty Sessions has settled into my own family lore.

GROUNDWORK

Perhaps I was eager to search authentic manuscripts for new yarns because during my adult life I have spent, as Patty would say, "a good deal" of time collecting ancestral stories. My stockpile of

family legends is respectable. A sampling follows in chronological order.

In the late 1700s, Samuel Mayall, the uncle of my great-great-great-grandmother, Margaret Mayall Radcliff, is said to have smuggled plans for woolen-making machinery out of England and built a mill in Gray, Cumberland County, Maine, reputedly the first woolen mill in the United States. Postscripts to Samuel Mayall's entrepreneurship describe harrowing escapes from traps set by the English government, as they sought to punish—or exterminate—Mayall for his skulduggery.

In Nauvoo in the 1840s, the Prophet Joseph Smith wrestled with my great-uncles, who were then boys. He ate baked potatoes and drank buttermilk offered him by my great-great-grandmother, the grand-niece of Samuel Mayall. According to a family story, they also loaned the Prophet the horse upon which John Taylor rode with Joseph to his martyrdom at Carthage.

Sometime later, the brother of Alvin Foss, my great-great grandfather, was buried outside the family graveyard in Limington, Maine, because he had been imprisoned for murder. His wife was either running away with or being abducted by another man. The distraught husband, accidentally or otherwise, inflicted a knife wound, from which the injured man contracted blood poisoning and expired.

Out in the Nevada desert in the 1850s, my Danish great-grandma, Kristen Andersen, rescued her family from almost certain massacre through the gift of a featherbed to the war-painted Indians who surrounded their lone wagon, while the menfolk were off for water. My eight-year-old future Gramma, forbidden to make a single sound, huddled with her brother under quilts and comforters in the back of the wagon bed, as their mother actually climbed down to the ground to demonstrate the use of her gift. Each time we coaxed Gramma to repeat that frightening story, my spine tingled and my heart swelled with pride at the courage and ingenuity of my great-grandmother in saving her family.

Many years later my grandpa, Joseph Henrie, who had married that now-grown, scared little girl, was overheard by the bishop swearing at his horse. When he refused to apologize in front of the ward, he was excommunicated.

Susie Malinda Henrie, my mother, in 1892 as a child of thir-

teen, saw Butch Cassidy captured in Star Valley, Wyoming, prior to his stint in the Wyoming State pen.

But despite a wealth of yarns about my family, I know much more about Patty Sessions than even about my own mother. Seven years spent analyzing forty-two years' worth of diary entries, searching out how to fill in the gaps—where she purposely omitted information or hadn't time to explain—has fostered an unusually intimate acquaintance, one that deepens as she reminds me how interrelated we all are. In meaningful ways, her realness mingles with my family legends and illuminates my little bits and pieces of information. She draws me closer to my ancestors and more intimately in touch with myself.

CONNECTIONS

Narrative historian Ken Burns, states it simply, "Any time you tell the life of a person, there's a connection with another person."²

The life of Patty Sessions, as she chose to tell it, is engraved permanently in her own distinctive handwriting on paper, some of which she may have made, with a pen dipped in ink she also made herself. She took it up in times of exhaustion, in grief, in joy, in sickness, and in health. She seemed obsessed with keeping a record of her goings and comings and of all family members, friends, and mere acquaintances.

No wonder that after our wanderings together through her view of events and my analysis and expansion of certain elements of her story, I felt so unfulfilled when her writing ended. I realized she planned to stretch out her story but was betrayed by some act of fate or fortune. The conclusion of her last diary was so abrupt, unexpected.

My mother's story was also interrupted by a sudden stroke. While a pot of soup simmered on the stove, she sat in her rocking chair, conversing with her brother. Suddenly she was paralyzed on her right side and speechless. She could form the words, but she could not vocalize them. When Patty's writing ceased, I felt the same emotions as when I sat beside my mother, who had been such a vital part of my life, saw her helpless, and felt so helpless myself. Both

²Address at Harvard University, 21 August 1997, available in American Culture on C-Span; notes in my possession.

times, I felt resentful that a woman who had been a doer of good all her life had lapsed into such an ignominious condition.

I am a retired English teacher. I used to warn my literature classes not to confuse fiction with real life, not to become too personally involved in the characters and their fates. The warning was necessary; one high school junior told me she cried all night after reading how Lennie met his end in Steinbeck's *Of Mice and Men*. So why hadn't I heeded my own advice? Here was I, reading Patty's final entry with the lump in my throat clearly betraying my emotions. But this was not fiction. It was real. I had lost a sister, a friend, a mother for a *second* time, a grandmother, in some ways, a mentor. The conclusion was too open. I wanted "The End," written clearly on a neat package and tied with a bow.

Later, one of her descendants told me that Patty became so childlike before she died, five years after that last journal entry, that she hid behind the curtains and furtively peeked outside at the children in the street. Hearing that, whether true or false, left me comfortless. What had become of the virtuous woman whose action-packed days were filled with birth and death, planting and reaping, people and places?

It was inevitable that I build bridges between what she wrote and what I have gleaned of my own roots. I hadn't known that Gramma Henrie, my mother's Danish mother, was a midwife until I read her obituary. Not owning any first-hand records from my Gramma's practice, I can understand better the challenges of that job because of Patty's diaries. And I understand better what the birthing of my father and mother and some of my siblings was like, as assisted by midwives. Our daughter-in-law is currently a nurse-midwife with a staff position in a large county hospital in Los Angeles. I relate better to her enthusiasm for her profession because of Patty because, although the context may be different, there are links between what midwifery *was* like—and essentially still is.

A modern midwife philosophized, "Whether life grinds you or polishes you depends on the material you're made of. And it's a *thin* line between the grinding and the polishing, I'll tell you!"³ Because of family stories and because of Patty, I find that statement very profound.

³Katherine Griffen, "Gladys [Milton] Delivers," *Health*, May-June 1992, 56.

LEARNING

Patty Bartlett mentioned a memory of being carried into her father's shoemaking shop by a teacher who taught there. She also said she began a sampler when she was a girl in school; she finished it in the Salt Lake Valley in 1849. Her formal education was minimal.

The schooling of my own parents extended only through eighth grade, but they never ceased their quest toward self-education. They became wise and knowledgeable through reading and study. So did Patty, who may have had less schooling than either my mother or father. I admire each of them for determination and fortitude, despite the lack of opportunity. They grasped what was available and capitalized on it.

The word "school" comes up often in Patty's writings, in reference to her grandchildren and to herself. On 24 March 1862, she wrote, "I have been writing a piece to carry to the Grammar School" and then with an air of disappointment, "went to the school the school closed this evening." Education meant so much to Patty that, in Bountiful in 1883, she built the Sessions Academy for her grandchildren and the children of the poor. She also arranged to have the dividends of her \$16,000 worth of ZCMI stock put in trust to defray the expenses.

When I went off to college, my father handed me a checkbook and said, "Your signature is now as good as mine." That was his schoolhouse for his children and grandchildren. Patty's descendants still express appreciation for her devotion to education. I shall always be reminding my children and grandchildren how my parents valued education. Five of their seven children became schoolteachers, basically because Mamma and Daddy knew there was no better profession. Respect for studying and enthusiasm for new opportunities is, in my mind, responsible for my dogged determination to finish what Patty started so many years ago.

INDUSTRY

Patty and my parents alike were relentless workers, by necessity and of training. My father arose before daylight and was off to the ranch, usually coming home after dark to a supper my mother kept warm in the oven. I cannot resist adding that mince pie, a staple in our household, was often included in that meal. Patty made them, too. Mother never left a dish unwashed, a bed unmade, the washing or ironing undone. She fretted over my whites not being clean

enough—they hadn't been boiled with lye soap or felt the wrath of the scrubbing board. Every spring the house was emptied and scrubbed from top to bottom before freshly washed curtains and beaten rugs were replaced.

Patty was like that, too. She fussed over her housekeeping and her house upkeeping. Her never-idle hands were constantly employed in quilting, spinning and weaving cloth, knitting, planting, harvesting, drying, and in making rugs. She spent a lot of time in preparing rags for rugs.

So did my mother, rags that were torn and sewn together, then braided into ovals or rounds to cover cold, bare floors. My mother was not good at machine sewing, but she pieced and stitched quilts of every description, knitted socks, and darned, patched, and repaired until there was nothing left to repair. In her declining years, she knitted dishcloths—better than any you could ever buy. I still hoard a little stack of her dishcloths in the corner of a kitchen drawer. I have never used them because I am sentimental and because they are the work of her own hands.

Outgrown garments were never discarded in our home but cut down and sewed into a “new” outfit for someone younger. My oldest sister was a genius at that chore. Sadly, it is only in retrospect that I relish the uniqueness of those cut-down dresses. There never was nor would there ever be any the same, in contrast to the racks of clones we see in department stores today. So “Waste not; want not” was a true adage in our household, and in Patty's. It was a matter of economy and necessity.

When she was ninety years old, Patty described her attitude toward making use of what you have. She wrote on 25 November 1885, “I am making this rug out of an old shaul I bought of a poor man when we first came into the valey he had lost his wife before he got into the valley his children had nothing to eat I let him have a litle of what I had as we had but litle of any thing to eat only what we had brought with us & I have made the shaul into a rug after wearing it as long as I could untill it droped all to holes I now have the rug by the side of my bed to think of & how I got it.”

I agree with salvaging anything useable. My own compulsion to recycle newspaper, cardboard, and letter-paper, plastic, glass, and even rubber bands to return to the newspaper carrier, can be traced to my upbringing, as we were taught—again by example—respect for what we had. Supplies were limited, and so was money. If we started

with little and used it up or abused it, then we had less or nothing because usually it was irreplaceable.

On 24 June 1863, Patty wrote: "got my web out for blanket & undergarments 28 yds I do feel thankful to my heavenly Father that he gives me health and stren[g]th and a dispos[i]tion to work and make cloth and other things for my comfort now in the sixty-ninth year of my age. And I also feel thankful that I had a mother that put me to work when I was young and learned me how."

I feel thankful for that blessing, too. My mother never complained about work; she never made lists of chores or made a big deal about it; she simply taught us by example. However, because she was eldest of a family of eleven, the three daughters being born first, she had mowed the hay, raked it, milked cows, and raced horses over ground dotted with badger holes on errands for her father or mother. She shielded her daughters from heavy farm work, but we were expected to do our share, and we did. I admire the subtle way she trained us, because in that respect I have done poorly. It was easier to do a job myself. I wonder if our children think they were mistreated when they worked for their mother? Probably the answer is yes because their father possessed the gift of making work into a game. I have always been more like Patty. Any needful task should be done promptly and without foolishness. Not only that, but you should just *know* what I want done and *do* it!

At any rate, I can identify with taking care of housework and accepting the drudgery associated with it. I can relate to Patty's compulsion to accomplish all that was required to maintain a house and orchards and gardens, because I grew up in just such an atmosphere. I felt that I had to work harder than any youngster in the neighborhood, because it was my job to mow the lawn and weed the garden. But did I ever love to lie on that lawn and conjure up fairy tales about the wonderful clouds that floated in Star Valley skies; and did I ever relish the richness of creamed new potatoes and peas, made with skimmed-off cream and butter churned by one of us kids.

CONSERVATION

Several times in her 1847 trail diary, Patty wrote about picking berries and about collecting starts of native plants that she nurtured into what must have become spectacular orchards and gardens in the Salt Lake Valley. She fidgeted over her crops constantly—the

watering, the weeding, protecting the ripening fruit from thieves, the harvesting, the preserving.

I can relate to drying or bottling produce, even when it was stretched to include seedy bottled serviceberries. Every fall we were sent to Graveyard Canyon a few blocks east of our house to pick the plump, purplish-blue service berries. I hated them from the bottle, but I relished the sweet taste of dead ripe berries popped into the mouth straight from the bush, and I loved a bowl of fresh berries smothered in sugar and cream. During young motherhood years, my sentimental nature took over, and I tried the serviceberry trick with our kids. Pick, eat, bottle, eat again. Our children were difficult, then adamant. The bottled berries spoiled on the shelf. It doesn't matter. I seldom bottle anymore; in fact, I resist doing so. But my guilt is kept alive. Mother used to make pancake syrup from chokecherries. My husband thinks there is no better eating and has, on occasion, picked them and coerced a niece into helping him bottle jam and syrup. Pointing out the heavy-hanging clusters of chokecherries on canyon bushes, he still tries to finagle me into a fruit-preserving session. So far, I have waffled until the berries have fallen. Still, sometimes I actually feel a faint wish for a pancake dripping in chokecherry syrup. I find that Patty revived my ever-ready guilt complex.

NURTURING

Patty enjoyed a remarkable sisterhood with a circle of women who met in sympathetic meetings of support in the early days. Many were of an elite sorority of women who had been sealed to the Prophet Joseph Smith, and they used their considerable spirituality to buoy each other up. Unashamedly, they blessed and were blessed; they used the gifts of the spirit to talk in tongues; they called upon each other and the Lord for help in their every need.

Having such faith and gifts and allies can be life-saving. I know that from experience and by virtue of being a woman. Trials are lightened through the caring of family, friends, neighbors, Relief Society sisters—or sometimes mere acquaintances. Personal examples and those of some near and dear to me are too private and too sacred to record on paper, but they are genuine.

Patty didn't ignore or deny priesthood authority. She venerated it and demonstrated her reverence throughout a long lifetime.

Like her, I gratefully acknowledge my worthy husband's priesthood; I honor our home teachers and anticipate their visits with gladness; I sustain our bishop and all the leaders who serve me—the Prophet, of course, most of all. But there is something about the female makeup that yearns for solace and support from those of her own sex. In Patty's day, they desperately needed each other. Her journal and my own experience and my own observations remind me that we still do. It's true, as all women know.

My grandparents, William and Myra Henrie, and their children joined the Mormon Church in Miamitown, Ohio, and left behind a comfortable and secure life-style to join with the Saints in Nauvoo; they, like the Sessions family, were forced to leave all behind and come West. Myra stayed in Winter Quarters when her husband was chosen for Brigham's pioneer company. I think we pay too little attention to those who braved Winter Quarters without their men-folk. She didn't arrive in the valley until September of 1848. She faithfully worked and waited while he responded to many calls to explore new frontiers. When they were finally settled with a productive mill in Bountiful, at the modern retirement age of sixty-five, once more they were asked to go south to the Muddy River and help to build a settlement. William balked. I can relate to that.

However, this time Myra packed up and went with two of their married sons. In what has become Panaca, Nevada, she taught school, helped form a cooperative store, led the Relief Society, and proved how self-sufficient she had become. Then, six years later, when Brother Brigham found that Panaca was in Nevada, he called them to Panguitch to start all over. Myra is buried in Panguitch, William in Bountiful. William was not a polygamist, and they appeared to have an amiable relationship. But Myra needed assurance. She had several patriarchal blessings, and most of them indicate some concerns about their family relationships in the afterlife. Patriarchs several times assured her that she would have an everlasting inheritance in connection with her husband. And she was told that she could lay on hands to heal when there was no priesthood present.

Patty and Myra were contemporaries. They may have known each other. They had similar worries, as they became independent. The patriarch was an important source of strength and guidance. Both Patty and Myra had more than one patriarchal blessing. Obvi-

ously, both took comfort in the promises given. And they received similar promises.

Patty recorded on November 9, 1876, "Charles Hyde patriarch said he had A blessing for me he laid his hands upon my head bles[s]ed me and to my surprise ordained me to lay hands on the sick Prophetised many things to me for which I feel thankful."

INDEPENDENCE

Modern women have to admire Patty's self-sufficiency, because so many are required to employ the same qualities of dedication, persistence, resistance, and determination just to survive, as she did. She could reasonably be called a liberated woman in a positive sense, an entrepreneur. She was independent. Of necessity, she lived alone much of the time, but her house was always full of visitors, who regularly stayed for supper and often all night. She was generous in her contributions: to the ward, to the Perpetual Emigrating Fund, to the Indians, to the missionaries, to anyone in need. She kept meticulous records of all her dealings. She must have been more financially successful than many of her contemporary brethren. I admire her for her tenacity and positively modern approach to life. Several times—moving from Maine to Missouri to Illinois to the Great Basin—she was forced to begin over, which she did with energy, even enthusiasm.

Because of Patty's diaries, I understand more about what it was like for my father to start with nothing, to work feeding cattle for someone else in a snowbound winter, somehow to buy a calf out of his meager salary, to fatten it up, sell it, buy two, and so on, until he became quite successful, for his time and place. Then, just when life seemed good, his three-year-old son died from measles, and his business—the town motion picture theater—burned to the ground. There was no back-up system. He moved to a different community and literally started all over. Patty's circumstances help me to visualize what such a disaster would entail.

My life has been so different from either Patty's or my father's. Bill and I have lived in the same home for forty-two years; and despite all my recycling, we have forty-two years worth of accumulated stuff. To have it suddenly disappear would be at once a relief and heart-wrenching. Or to have to pack it up and move—even once—seems impossible. We are unusual. Settling in and staying put was a rare luxury in those days. Modern society is on the move, too, usually in

search of some more secure, profitable, or safe place. I guess I understand that reasons for moving around haven't changed all that much.

CHOICES

But under those circumstances, how Patty could also doggedly write in her diary *every single day*? That I cannot understand. Day after weary day she recorded her activities, however mundane or hectic.

To me, that should be a last priority! In fact, to me, it is a last priority. Having admitted that, I bemoan the fact that not one of my ancestors kept diaries. Except for photocopies of two handwritten letters from my great-great grandmother Myra Mayall Henrie to her daughter far away in California, that's about it.

One of my nephews taped an oral history with my mother. To hear her voice transports me backwards to where she was and forward to where she most certainly must be. She recounts the exploits of Butch Cassidy and one of his sidekicks during the all-too-frequent winters when Star Valley was snowed in and isolated from the rest of the world. The townfolks noticed that the strangers came to the dances at the old rock church, never danced, and always sat facing the door with their six-shooters handily exposed. Still they invited these strangers home for supper, and, according to my mother, Gramma counseled Cassidy's partner—they were calling him Heiner then—to write to his mother. That spring after winter broke up, Mother and her friend Mary Holbrook were sitting at the sawmill when a posse rode into town and took Heiner into custody. Cassidy was captured at a farmhouse near the ranch house my parents later owned. "He was pistol-whipped on that porch," Mother would say. And then she would describe how indignant the women were about the abusiveness of the arresting posse, and how the sisters dressed the wounds on the outlaw's head.

Patty spent her good years engaged in administering aid to those in need, whether she knew much about them or not. On rare occasions, she hinted at a sense of humor. After one boarder left, she reported that he had paid nothing and then added, "he left lice enough to pay me for my trouble had they all been coppers and cents." She took in handcart survivors. Although they were not personally acquainted, for many weeks Patty nursed a destitute woman whose brother had died.

During the influenza epidemic of 1918, my mother took care of her own family, then went about by buggy providing help wherever needed. After my father died, many people told Mother how Dad had come to their rescue in bad times. He had also contributed funds to every church built in Star Valley. And he wasn't even a baptized Mormon. although almost everyone else was.

I cling to my souvenirs and memories from those long since departed. And I belatedly collect family stories. I snatch and build upon every little lead.

ANNOYANCES

I admit to being sentimental. Still, despite the frustration I felt when Patty's pen became quiet, my dialogue with Patty was not without dilemma. That was bound to be. We simply cannot live with someone with such familiarity and never feel hostility or conflict. I would have disliked living under her roof; I couldn't help sympathizing with those who did. Her expectations for others almost exceeded what she expected of herself. Although she had a vulnerable side, she was crusty and tough to deal with. Her photographs show a woman of stern, unwavering temper, but in her writing when—rarely—she reveals her heart, she vies with my brand of sentimentality.

Sharply etching her words in a remarkably legible and slanting scrawl, she betrays who she was, as much in what she didn't say as in what she did. She knew she was a capable midwife and also competent in providing other types of medical treatment and advice. But as most of us are inclined to do, she put her own spin on all her stories. We have to read between the lines and interpret, if possible, the mood behind them. And that becomes a wearisome task; she was constrained to stay busy constantly and to record every single piece of work she tackled—at least she couldn't possibly have done more than she reported! On the other hand, she helps me comprehend more clearly my fragments of family history.

Other things bother me, too. How she could be up at night, sometimes all night, delivering babies, and still matter-of-factly go about all the other tasks that filled her days is beyond me. How she could report deaths with such seeming detachment puzzles me. She was an integral part of so many vital aspects of the community and its population, but her accounts of most events are presented, in my opinion, without passion, even dutifully. I want to shout at her, "But

how did that make you *feel*? Did anyone mourn, or was there relief and thanksgiving?" Usually she doesn't editorialize. There is one memorable exception. Patty had buried four children in Maine and one in Nauvoo. At Winter Quarters, Joannah Roundy, to whom she had administered help, was dying and offered to take a message to the deceased Sessions children. "I sent word by her to them," she wrote. I really wanted to know what that message was, but all she added was, "I then went to the Silver Grey party."

Perhaps I must look to a plaintive poem my mother wrote on 24 March 1917, the day my brother would have turned three had he not died the month before on 1 February 1917.

Darling Darrel I remember
just three years ago today
when you came to bless our home
and we thot you had come to stay
But our Heavenly Father called you
and you left us here alone
But our hearts ache for you Darling
In our dreary and lonely home

O my Darling how I miss
your little footsteps at my side
and the sweetness of your voice, dear
for you were your mothers pride
Now my little fair haired angel
on the bright and shining shore
now we know on earth my darling
we will see thee here no more

You are safe with God in heaven
For you are so pure and sweet
and we must keep ourselves from sin dear
So with all our loved ones we will meet
But we bow to him whose Greatness makes us seem
so small, and we know he watches over us—
and he blesses great and small.

Darrel when your mother is called
To leave this frail and mortal clay

Will you come and guide me safely
Thro the straight and narrow way.
May I live worthy of this blessing
Is my prayer both day and night
May I live a life of kindness
Be worthy of the Lords shining light.

I empathize as a mother because of a haunting personal experience. Some years back, my husband and I were on a flight to Salt Lake City from Miami. Landing-gear difficulties necessitated a return to Miami and a crash landing, the fate of which we pondered for two hours while fuel was being jettisoned into the ocean. The Catholic woman who sat next to us fingered her rosary. My newspaper husband took notes. I sat absorbed in thoughts totally focused on my children. I did not reflect on my own life or on the mess that might be found in our home should we die. I did not care what would happen to all our worldly belongings. I only reflected on the well-being of those I would be leaving behind. The next day after we arrived home, bedraggled but safe, we learned that our three-year-old grandson must somehow have felt my concern. Sometime during the dark and anxious flight over a black ocean, as we wondered what the outcome would be, Jed said to his dad, out of the blue, "Grandma's flying in an airplane to heaven." Then, astonished at how preposterous his matter-of-fact statement had sounded, he refused to say more.

Yes, most mothers can relate to overwhelming obsessions with family, to the desire to offer just one more word of advice or love or remorse or hope or faith or—as an LDS missionary returning on that flight profoundly observed, the notion that "we should all live our lives prepared for a crash landing."

Although Patty did not reveal her message to her deceased children, she obviously suspected that she wrote for posterity, and she, I would say, deliberately offered guidance and instruction in her entries, exhortations that still ring true.

She wrote on November 20, 1876:

I here say to all my children and my grand children and great grandchildren &c &c and to all others I have been punctual to my word I never have given my note to any one Neither have I had any ac[c]ounts on any Books in any Store I have kept out of debt Paid my taxes my fasts my donations. and my tithing willingly of the best I have and the Lord

has blessed me and Prospered me in all I have done for which I feel very thankful. hoping he will continue to bless me while I live both Spiritually and temporially [sic], with all that shall be for my good and his Glory to give unto me I am now Almost eig[h]ty two years old february next the 4th I drink no tea nor coffee nor spirutous [sic] liquors I dont smoke nor take snuff nor any poisonous medicine. I use consecrated oil for my complaints. Now I say to you do as I have done and as much better as you can and the Lord will bless you as he has me Patty Sessions. . .

Many of the virtues on that list were unspoken rules of my parents. For one, being scrupulously honest and debt-free were absolute laws in our household. A nickel could lie on the sideboard until even the owner forgot it was his. No one would think of touching anything, including clothing, that belonged to another person. Our father conducted his business dealings that way, and our mother conducted her household that way. If you couldn't pay for it, you went without until you could.

Patty even asked for a refund on her tithing at the end of the year, when her own accounts showed that she had overpaid. She was scrupulously careful in her dealings with others.

"I use consecrated oil for complaints"—I read those words and in memory listen for the quiet sound and glimpse the flannel-gowned figure of my mother as she padded up the stairs in the middle of the night with a tablespoon of olive oil and sugar, to administer relief to the throat and chest of a constantly coughing child. I still turn to that remedy on occasion, when modern concoctions fail. There's nothing like pure olive oil for some complaints. I feel the burning of the mustard plaster on my chest to treat the same nagging cough. I gag over the thought of castor oil given always in black coffee, which has, therefore, incidentally, never been a temptation for me to drink with cream and sugar.

Modern practitioners are beginning to realize there are some benefits in many treatments from long ago. Such comparisons and connections could continue at some length.

ENDLESS TIES

Literally thousands of persons have ready-made attachments to Patty Sessions. With one son, Perrigrine, who had eight wives and fifty-five children, not to mention the children of her daughter Sylvia and another son, David, Patty's issue is probably beyond counting. Posterity of those babies she delivered must number in the hundreds

of thousands. Descendants of persons who crossed her doorstep or ate at her table or slept in her beds add more thousands. Those who casually read her diaries and those who might use her diaries for research will add up to many, many more.

My connections are even closer. I was baptized in the oversized bathtub of her great-grandson, Ed Sessions, by him, because my mother wanted me baptized on my birthday and the streams were frozen in Star Valley in February. When I read in the "Autobiography of Enoch B. Tripp" that Heber C. Kimball "sent up to the temple and got a large bathtub in order to baptize him [Windsor P. Lyon, Patty's son-in-law] in," I thought, "Aha! I know what that is like." Enoch, Patty's nephew, was baptized at the same time in the kitchen of the Lyon home. Although the tubs were different, theirs probably being a big, moveable tin tub, the principle and the process were the same.

I considered Hazel, the daughter of Ed and Effie Sessions, to be one of my good friends. The Sessions store across from the high school was a favorite hangout for those my age. I heard my parents speak of their friends, Belle Sessions and her husband, Chet, or Chester, who was Patty's grandson. My oldest sister seriously dated Chester's son, Delbert Sessions. And here is another connecting coincidence. The man my Danish grandmother married, Joseph Ozro Henrie, was the son of Joseph Henrie and Susie Duncan, who were—actually—married in Patty's home on January 29, 1852! Patty's son, David, and Joseph, my great grandfather, were buddies. I would probably never have known that had I not transcribed Patty's diaries.

Other histories and diaries surprise me with more ties that bind. In Savannah Putnam's diary I read that Perrigrine Sessions was, at least obliquely, responsible for the conversion of my Putnam and Foss ancestors in Maine.⁴ I discover that when William Henrie died in 1883 at Bountiful without kinfolk nearby, Perrigrine took the body into his home until it could be buried.⁵ After all, Myra and her sons were pioneering in places southward, in Manti, Panguitch, and San Diego.

Even more important than past connections are present con-

⁴Mary Ann Porter Harris, comp., "Pioneers of Rich County: Savannah Putnam," Daughters of Utah Pioneers lesson, January 1998.

⁵Kate B. Carter, comp., "Diary and Journal of Thomas Briggs," Daughters of Utah Pioneers lesson, January 1960.

tacts with descendants that have come as a result of this project. I now know grandchildren and great-grandchildren from most, if not all, of Perrigrine's wives. I know some of David's descendants and some of Sylvia's. They emulate the admirable qualities of their illustrious ancestors, male and female. They respect their heritage. They appreciate the legacy of words Patty left them. They are eager to share her strengths with others. Family ties, for the Sessionses, as far as I can tell, supercede all other considerations. They certainly did to Patty. And I must say, "Me, too!" I feel a kinship with the Sessions family.

Some years ago in one of those supportive acts of love women give to each other, Kathryn Bennion, a Relief Society sister for whom I always had an affinity, mailed me a poem with an eternal theme. No author was included. Kathryn is gone now, but our relationship lives on.

The way I walk, I see my mother walking,
 The feet secure and firm upon the ground.
 The way I talk, I hear my daughter talking,
 And hear my mother's echo in the sound.
 The way she thought, I find myself now thinking,
 The generations linking
 The firm continuance of mind
 The bridge of immortality I'm walking
 The voice before me echoing behind.

I have added the saga of Patty Sessions to the stories of my own ancestors. Her diaries invoke comparisons with those as close to me as my parents, my own children, my daughter-in-law, even myself.

Relate to Patty? Oh my, yes. Approve of her? Mostly. How could I not? She was one of a kind for any time, not just for her own time. See any defects? More than a few, despite her efforts to hide them. But they are minimal when compared to the whole. Her faults and failings may help me to improve.

On 13 January 1856, Patty wrote, "I was called this morning to Mrs Townsens she was very sick I gave her emetic left her better I came got breakfast PG went home I do not go to meeting to day I am here alone I have been reading my Journal and feel to thank the Lord that I have passed through what I have I have gained an experience that I could not have gained no other way."

An old Chinese proverb proclaims, "The palest ink is worth more than the finest memory." Patty's ink gives me—and all other readers—an experience that could not be gained any other way. I too am thankful. In a way, she has storied me home.

A LEGACY OF THE SESQUICENTENNIAL: A SELECTION OF TWELVE BOOKS

Craig S. Smith

Maurine Jensen Proctor and Scot Facer Proctor. *The Gathering: Mormon Pioneers on the Trail to Zion*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1996. 224 pp. Photographs, notes. \$49.95. ISBN 1-57345-987-1

Richard Neitzel Holzapfel. *Their Faces Toward Zion: Voices and Images of the Trek West*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1996. 221 pp. Photographs, illustrations, notes, index. \$34.95. ISBN 57008-266-9

William W. Slaughter and Michael Landon. *Trail of Hope: The Story of the Mormon Trail*. Salt Lake City: Shadow Mountain, 1997. 204 pp. Photographs, illustrations, notes, index. \$34.95. ISBN 1-57345-251-3

Arthur King Peters. *Seven Trails West*. New York: Abbeville Press, 1996. 252 pp. Photographs, illustrations, index. \$39.95. ISBN 1-55859-782-4

William E. Hill. *The Mormon Trail: Yesterday and Today*. Logan: Utah State University Press, 1996. xxii, 216 pp. Photographs, illustrations, maps, bibliography. \$19.95. ISBN 0-87421-202-2

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James B. Allen and John W. Welch (eds.). *Coming to Zion*. Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 1997. ix, 357 pp. Illustrations, notes, map, index. \$13.95. ISBN 0-8425-2347-2

Richard E. Bennett. *"We'll Find the Place": The Mormon Exodus, 1846-1848*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1997. xix, 428 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$19.95. ISBN 1-57345-286-6

Susan Easton Black and William G. Hartley (eds.). *The Iowa Mormon Trail: Legacy of Faith and Courage*. Orem, Utah: Helix Publishing, 1997. xxxii, 268 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, index. \$14.95. ISBN 0-9655572-0-0

Carol Cornwall Madsen. *Journey to Zion: Voices from the Mormon Trail*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1997. xvii, 750 pp. Photographs, notes, index. \$25.95. ISBN 1-57345-244-0

Roderic Korns and Dale L. Morgan, eds., revised and updated by Will Bagley and Harold Schindler. *West from Fort Bridger: The Pioneering of the Immigrant Trails Across Utah, 1846-1850*. Logan: Utah State University Press, 1994. xxviii + 328 pp. Photographs, notes, map, index. \$27.95. ISBN 0-87421-178-6

Will Bagley, ed. *The Pioneer Camp of the Saints: The 1846 and 1847 Mormon Trail Journals of Thomas Bullock*. Spokane, Wash.: Arthur H. Clark, 1997. 393 pp. Notes, photographs, bibliography, index. \$39.50. ISBN 0-87062-276-5

Peter H. DeLafosse. *Trailing the Pioneers: A Guide to Utah's Emigrant Trails, 1829-1869*. Logan: Utah State University Press, 1994. 126 pp. Maps, photographs, bibliography, index. \$12.95. ISBN 0-87421-172-7

THE MORMON TRAIL SESQUICENTENNIAL in 1997 generated tremendous excitement and international media attention as Mormons remembered and honored the ancestors of their faith. Wards and stakes throughout the world celebrated this momentous anniversary with handcart treks, festivals, seminars, and service days. The modern reenactment of the 1847 exodus from Winter Quarters to the Salt Lake Valley attracted substantial attention from the press and public who followed the daily progress of the wagon train and handcarts as they crept across Nebraska and Wyoming. Now that the dust has settled from all these activities, it is an opportune time to examine one of the lasting legacies of the sesquicentennial year—the immense corpus of books written describing this famous episode in Mormon history. The twelve books reviewed here—representing most produced at the time of the sesquicentennial—add to the growing collection of histories, dramas, and paintings produced over the past 150 years to recognize this often-studied event.

With a few notable exceptions, these books published for the sesquicentennial primarily focused on the spiritual or religious aspects of the trail and migration and its importance as a symbol for modern-day Saints' faith and obedience. They also point out that "coming to Zion" continues to this day and occurs throughout the world. In telling their sacred story, the authors emphasize the uniqueness of the Mormon exodus in contrast to other nineteenth-century migrations. Mormon pioneers were refugees moving as a community that looked after the welfare of all. Rather than striking out as bold individualists, they followed their leaders to find a new home in the wilderness where they could avoid religious persecution. Several authors view the trail and gathering as a reformation or bridge from the old to the new, providing an opportunity for the Saints to overcome trials and for the Church to renew itself.

To achieve their goals, the authors portray the trail, the sacrifices, and courage of the participants through a variety of approaches. Some provide dramatic, modern-day photographs or a wide range of historic images to illustrate significant locations or events along the trail. Others furnish carefully edited editions of important journals or collections of lengthy excerpts of diaries and reminiscences that allow the emigrants to speak for themselves. Of all the books, only one provides a guide to the physical trail; it is limited to the five emigrant trails that cross Utah. Two of the books are edited collections of papers by several researchers.

What is explored as part of the Mormon Trail varies considerably between accounts. Several begin their journey with Joseph Smith and the 1830 founding of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints or with early missionary efforts in Britain, continuing to the construction of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 and the end of organized wagon trains. One narrative even extends to the early twentieth century. Many of the books follow the emigrants from Britain and other countries, over the seas in sailing ships or steamers to their arrival in U.S. ports, across the continent by railroad or steamboat to the frontier outposts, and over the plains and Rocky Mountains by wagon or handcart to their new home in Zion. Other studies are narrower, focusing on a single year such as the difficult 1846 trek across Iowa or the Mormon exodus of 1846-48.

This review essay is a brief guide through these twelve books published between 1994 and 1997 by such presses as Deseret Book, Bookcraft, Utah State University, Arthur H. Clark, Helix, and Abbeville. The review begins with the general Mormon Trail volumes, continues with those detailing more specific incidents, and concludes with the edited trail documents and journals, and the one guide to the physical trail.

The Gathering, by Maurine Jensen Proctor and Scot Facer Proctor, is a beautiful oversized book containing magnificent color photographs of trail sites. Its purpose is less as a history than as a testament and remembrance of the faith and sacrifices of the Mormon pioneers, who gave their

all for their beliefs, which, as the Proctors claim, "would etch deep-rooted faith into the souls of those who remembered their ancestors" (7). The book is also the Proctors' personal odyssey to their Mormon roots in England and Wales and across the plains of North America with a tribute to their Mormon ancestors. Composed in an inspirational tone of epic portions, their journey follows the standard Mormon Trail tale: conversion to the gospel in England, the murder of Joseph Smith and the temporary transformation of Brigham Young (the "mantle of Joseph" miracle), the sacrificial completion of the Nauvoo Temple, expulsion by murderous mobs, the 1846-47 exodus and pioneer camp, with a leap to the Willie and Martin handcart disaster in the Wyoming winter. Stories included as examples generally emphasize the pioneers' suffering and sacrifice with a focus on the tragic. For example, they include Franklin D. Richards's faithful departure on a mission, leaving his two wives, Jane and Elizabeth, in desperate straits in Iowa and at Winter Quarters. Jane's two children and Elizabeth die, leaving only Jane to wait for her husband. The book's narrative, meshed with the visual effect of the dramatic, large-format color photographs, achieves the authors' goals of producing a lasting monument to the faith of their Mormon ancestors.

Their Faces Toward Zion: Voices and Images of the Trek West, by Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, accomplishes similar goals as *The Gathering*; but instead of modern photographs, he develops the story of the Mormon Trail around historic photographs, drawings, and paintings. The book is essentially a series of snapshots in time. Holzapfel begins the pilgrimage of the trail with Joseph Smith and continues it to the present: "The incredible drama of faithful individuals and families fulfilling the commandments of the Lord continues today as an ever increasing number of modern-day pioneers begin their sacred journey of establishing Zion throughout the world" (5). This inspirational book recites the sacred journey, which also includes the ordinances in the temple as a goal, through photographs of the participants beside short excerpts from their diaries or journals. Many of these images are of the individuals late in life, or even after they had died, as in the case of Patty Barlett Sessions. Some illustrations provided as part of the visual study are those by Frederick Hawkins Piercy (an entire chapter), C. C. A. Christensen, Charles R. Savage, and Charles W. Carter. Many of these images also appear in other sesquicentennial trail books, accentuating the paucity of good historic photographs and drawings. In addition to the basic elements of the trail narrative, including the trek across Iowa, the Camp of Israel, and the handcart experiment, Holzapfel briefly scans the ocean crossing, river steamboats, railroads, the down-and-back Church trains of the 1860s, the missionary effort, and the colonization from Salt Lake City. *Their Faces Toward Zion* is another nicely produced faith-promoting book articulating the importance of the trail as an example for modern-day Latter-day Saints.

Another elaborately assembled volume, *Trail of Hope: The Story of the Mormon Trail*, by William W. Slaughter and Michael Landon, is an admirable one-volume history of “the curious American saga” that served as the companion volume to a PBS documentary created for the sesquicentennial. The authors weave together a tight narrative, short excerpts from diaries, and a wide assortment of historic illustrations to tell the story of the faithful pioneers, who “willingly risked all, including their lives, to seek what they hoped would be a better way of life” (12). Like many of the sesquicentennial books, it spans from Joseph Smith to the 1869 completion of the transcontinental railroad. Between the time of the 1847 Camp of Israel exodus and the 1857 handcart disaster—a decade often overlooked in other studies, Slaughter and Landon insert several developments: the involvement of the Mormon Battalion boys in the discovery of gold and its influence on increased traffic, the elimination of Salt Lake City’s isolation, the development of the important Perpetual Emigrating Fund, and the emigration of the early 1850s. Another significant chapter is their treatment of the down-and-back Church trains of the 1860s, a period usually only superficially considered. During the years 1861-64, 1866, and 1868, the Church, to avoid over-priced wagons and oxen, sent donated wagon trains from Salt Lake City each spring to the outfitting towns on the Missouri, and returned in the fall loaded with the Mormon emigrants. Also of value are the periodic sidebars, highlighting various aspects of day-to-day life on the plains including packing a wagon and hitching the teams. They conclude their interesting overview by noting that “the true Mormon Trail was not on the plains but in the spirit and heart of the people—individually and as a group” (172).

Seven Trails West, by Arthur King Peters, briefly traces the Mormon Trail against the larger backdrop of the overall exploration and settlement of the West: the Lewis and Clark expedition, the mountain men and the fur trade, the Santa Fe Trail, the Oregon-California Trail, the Pony Express, and the first transcontinental telegraph and railroad. The Mormon section of about thirty pages surveys such historical points as polygamy, the Utah War, and the Mountain Meadows Massacre, in addition to more typical Mormon Trail themes. Though generally sympathetic, Peters misses the mark on a number of historical facts. He leaves a mistaken impression about the practice of plural marriage even as he claims, with technical accuracy, that it was practiced by “probably fewer than 80 percent [!] of Mormon men” and explains the practice by “a need to create fresh generations of Mormons in a hurry” (121). He also misdates the Nauvoo city charter to 1844 (119). Despite these problems, it is a more than adequate introduction to Mormons and their trail within the larger context of the West. He felt, like many of the other authors, that “this heroic episode of Mormon history exemplifies many of the enduring qualities of nascent Mormonism itself: thorough organization, iron discipline, unswerving devotion to a cause, and

limitless self-sacrifice. It suggests that the true Mormon Trail was not on the prairie but in the spirit" (145).

The Mormon Trail: Yesterday and Today, by William E. Hill, is a considerably more modest production—paperback, with small black-and-white photographs and illustrations—than the other summaries already considered. Though unassuming, this book still affords "an introduction and overview of the Mormon Trail experience" (xv) for the nonspecialist in search of a brief summary. After an introduction emphasizing the uniqueness of the Mormon Trail over other trail experiences, Hill jumps into a patchy time line, hitting some events in the history of the Mormon Church and trail intermixed with episodes in the early settlement of the West. The second part reproduces some of the landmark maps that influenced the Mormon exodus: some of the Fremont-Preuss maps, the Mitchell map, the Hastings-Bullock map, and the J. H. Jefferson map. These reproductions, unfortunately, are so small that they are useless for any serious study. He excerpts three trail diaries for the journey between Ash Hollow and Scotts Bluff: those of William Clayton (1847), Patty Sessions (1847), and Frederick H. Piercy (1853).

The final section, consisting of nearly half the book, displays "then-and-now" illustrations comparing historic drawings, including those by Frederick Piercy, with present-day photographs of major landmarks along the trail. Despite the poor quality of the printing and small scale of the pictures, it serves as a fascinating pictorial journey along the Mormon Trail from Nauvoo to Salt Lake City.

Coming to Zion, edited by James B. Allen and John W. Welch, is a compilation of articles covering various aspects of the Mormon Trail that originally appeared in *BYU Studies* over the past two decades with a previously unpublished address on the sesquicentennial theme "Faith in Every Footstep" by Elder M. Russell Ballard. The fourteen wide-ranging papers cover such different topics as the Mormons' knowledge of the West prior to the exodus, Garden Grove and Mount Pisgah, Mormons and Indians, emigration by ship and railroad, the down-and-back trains in 1861, missionary work in England and Scotland, and Mormon pioneer women. Many of these are landmark studies probing noteworthy subjects that had received little prior attention. One such investigation is William G. Hartley's analysis of the carefully planned 1861 down-and-back emigration centered on the frontier outfitting town of Florence, Nebraska. Church agents at Florence received the four Church trains from the Mormon capital almost simultaneously as the thousands of emigrants arrived by steamboat. They simultaneously sent assistants throughout the area to acquire food, supplies, and equipment. Hartley pulls all of this activity—and other topics—together to form a comprehensive story. In another important study, Stanley B. Kimball treats the often-neglected ship and railroad experiences of emigrants. He outlines the major railroads from Chicago, their dates of

construction, and their influences on the chosen routes for the Mormon emigration.

With a narrower focus than most of the above books, *"We'll Find the Place": The Mormon Exodus, 1846-1848*, by Richard E. Bennett, analyzes the period that "served as the foundation to all that came after"—not so much as a story of the trail but as a religious epic "of a religion in torment desperately seeking to save itself from persecution, to rid itself of its own detractors and obstructionists, and to find itself in some unknown valley 'far away in the West'" (xiv). Themes accentuated in this heroic narrative include fleeing from persecution into the unknown; finding a place and peace; Brigham Young's emergence as leader, president, and prophet; the testing and trying of God's people; going as a covenant people (the importance of the temple); sacrificing and paying for the exodus; and exercising faith and hope. Bennett develops these themes as he takes the Saints from their forced departure from Nauvoo during the winter of 1846 to Young's final return to the Salt Lake Valley in late September 1848, marking the end of the exodus and the beginning of the migration. Throughout, he highlights the dramatic to stress the uncertainties, difficulties, and dangers of their journey to Zion.

Some of these uncertainties are reflected in the well-told tale of the original Pioneer Camp of 1847 meeting several famous eastbound visitors just west of South Pass. They were just beginning the last leg of their historic journey when final decisions had to be made concerning their destination. Respected mountain man Moses ("Black") Harris argued for Cache Valley over the Salt Lake Valley. The celebrated Jim Bridger recommended, contrary to myth, the Salt Lake Valley. Finally, Sam Brannan urged California as the best place for the Saints. Another significant meeting detailed in the book was the encounter near South Pass with Parley P. Pratt's large emigration camp as Brigham Young returned to Winter Quarters. Young severely rebuked Pratt, an apostle, for not following counsel on the organization of the emigration camp, a tense moment in the events leading up to Young's appointment as president later that year. Also emphasized in Bennett's study were the desperate conditions and poverty of the Church during the exodus. He depicts several examples of the "begging missions" of the winter of 1847-48, where missionaries scoured the United States in search of donations to alleviate the grave situation. In addition to their financial problems, the charismatic James Strang was attracting many followers from among the Saints in Illinois, Wisconsin, and the eastern branches. Weaving these serious problems into the fabric of the exodus provides important context in understanding those first years of emigration and settlement. This book should stand as a significant addition to the Mormon Trail literature.

The Iowa Mormon Trail: Legacy of Faith and Courage, edited by Susan Easton Black and William G. Hartley, is a collection of papers resulting

from a history symposium that brought together trail scholars and local historians at Des Moines, Iowa, in May 1996. Apparently written for non-Mormons interested in the history of the Iowa Mormon Trail, this comprehensive volume attempts to explain the “who, what, where, when, and why aspects of the Mormon Exodus saga and the heritage of the Mormon Trails in Iowa” (xi). Hartley kicks off the collection by noting that the evacuation of Nauvoo and the crossing of Iowa involved three waves of departure—the winter exodus that included Brigham Young and about 3,000 Saints, known as the Camp of Israel; the spring exodus of about 10,000 Saints; and, the final fall exodus of approximately 1,000 mostly poor Saints, whom the mob forced from Nauvoo. Papers in the volume amply cover the experiences and trials that each of these waves of migration faced.

The first section of the volume furnishes the setting and background leading up to the Mormon exodus. James Allen’s chapter explains that Joseph Smith’s personal magnetism, the body of new teachings, the Mormons’ sense of identity and community, and their testimony all worked together to motivate the Saints to follow their leaders through the mud and rain of Iowa. Papers by Donald Cannon and Susan Easton Black describe the Mormon satellite settlements that surrounded the hub, Nauvoo, and the state of affairs in Nauvoo on the eve of the exodus. As the mobs and violence increased, the Saints frantically completed the temple so they could receive the essential endowments prior to fleeing from the city. Loren Horton briefly portrays the 1846 happenings in Iowa, including statehood near the year’s end to set the stage for the Mormon crossings.

In addition to summarizing the second (spring) and third (fall) waves of migration, the second section details various aspects of life on the Iowa Mormon Trail. Stanley Kimball’s lively account considers many aspects of life on the trail, both those common to all Great Plains immigrants and those unique to Mormons. To tell this story, he uses a wide array of Mormon Trail accounts but unfortunately fails to provide references. Carol Cornwall Madsen explores the trail experiences of women, chronicling not only their common goal shared with men (finding a new home) but also their uniqueness. Women emphasized such trials as the loss of babies, husbands on missions, insufficient provisions, and continual drenching rains. J. Mark Ammons follows the legendary Nauvoo Brass Band from its inception in Nauvoo in 1842 to its journey across Iowa in 1846 where it performed to the delight of both the weary travelers and local settlers. Larry Porter’s effective paper sets the stage for the beginnings of the Mormon Battalion by weaving together the basic documents: Polk’s diary; the order from William L. Marcy, Secretary of War, to Stephen W. Kearny at Fort Leavenworth; Kearny’s order to James Allen of the First Dragoons; and, Allen’s “Circular to the Mormons” requesting enlistments. Porter then carries the story along by quoting Mormon diaries showing their initial distrust and fear of the request, continues it through the grand enlistment ceremony

on the Missouri, and ends it with the tragic and famous story of Sarah Allen waiting at Winter Quarters for her husband who was killed by Indians in the Sierra Nevadas as he returned from California. Richard Bennett concludes the second section of the volume by examining the legacies and the uniqueness of the exodus and its meaning to present-day Latter-day Saints. To emphasize the singularity of the exodus, Bennett writes: "It was a forced religious march of one of the nineteenth century's most persecuted and despised groups of believers, who were bound neither for Oregon nor California, but for either survival or extinction" (177).

The final section provides a series of reports for each Iowa county crossed by the Mormon Trail, written by local historians, landowners, and Iowa Mormon Trail Association representatives. These accounts explain the recent and considerable efforts of the local citizens to study, locate, map, preserve, and understand the Mormon Trail in their counties. Detailed maps for each of the counties would have made this section more useful to readers not familiar with the geography of Iowa. Though some redundancies creep in, due to the large number of contributors, this volume serves as a monument to the cooperation and partnership between Mormon scholars and local trail enthusiasts, and provides a handy one-volume summary to the understanding of the meaning of the Iowa Mormon Trail.

Journey to Zion: Voices From the Mormon Trail, by Carol Cornwall Madsen, takes a different approach and allows the emigrants to speak for themselves, telling the collective story of the Mormon Trail, in a series of lengthy excerpts from diaries and reminiscences. In her introduction, she, like many of the authors, reviews the spiritual side of the trail, its importance to modern-day Mormons, and its significance as an "institutional rite of passage as well as a personal pilgrim's progress" (7). The first section groups diaries and reminiscences from the 1846 muddy crossing of Iowa and includes accounts, many from women, from each of the three waves of the exodus from Nauvoo—the winter, spring, and fall. Reading each in sequence allows for experiencing the same, often trying, events from varying perspectives; one writes about the endless rain and mud, while another sees more adventure in the miserable trek. Others exhibit a tremendous amount of faith, especially when it came to comforting and healing the sick, even in some cases of women praying, anointing with oil, and laying hands upon other women to facilitate recovery. Many of the women also faced the hardships without help from husbands (many were away on missions) or other men, which resulted in a feeling of independence; in one incident, several women got together and resolved "that when the brethren call on us to attend prayers, get engaged in conversation and forget what they called us for, that the sisters retire to some convenient place pray by themselves and go about their business" (Louisa Barnes Pratt, 232).

The second portion of the collection contains a series of Mormon Trail accounts arranged chronologically, with about one per year including

a few from the down-and-back Church trains of the 1860s. The third section concludes with the handcart experience, those from the tragic Willie and Martin companies, as well as the more successful ones. Overall, the volume is an effective testament, in the participants' own words, to their faith and sacrifice.

The exciting republication of the classic *West from Fort Bridger: The Pioneering of the Immigrant Trails Across Utah, 1846-1850* once again makes this important, scholarly study easily available. Edited by J. Roderic Korns and Dale L. Morgan and originally published in 1951 as Volume 19 of the *Utah Historical Quarterly*, it has now been revised and updated by Will Bagley and Harold Schindler. The preeminent historian Morgan first sets the stage by introducing John C. Fremont's westward crossing of the Great Salt Lake Desert, the first known Euroamerican passage over this famous route. He continues with "the dramatic trail-making endeavors of 1846" by studying "at close range . . . the texts of the source documents, which have preserved the story in remarkable detail" (18). This study reproduces the significant journals and reminiscences associated with the fateful trail blazing from Fort Bridger to the Salt Lake Valley, and then across the Great Salt Lake Desert in 1846, a portion of which the Mormons followed a year later. Supporting these narratives are an extensive series of introductions and footnotes detailing the results of twenty years of research that could be considered a book in itself.

Morgan embarks on the story of this eventful year with the journal of James Clyman, who traveled east from California in the party with Hastings following the route of Fremont and Talbot of the previous year. They traverse the Great Salt Lake Desert and Valley, enter the Wasatch Mountains at Parleys Canyon, and continue on to Fort Bridger for Hastings's momentous meetings with the westbound companies. The next journal, that of Edwin Bryant, traces the adventures of the mounted party that preceded the Harlan-Young and Donner-Reed companies west over the cutoff from Fort Bridger. The Heinrich Lienhard narrative, originally written in German, documents a party that followed a few days behind the Harlan-Young company—the last group to struggle through the hazardous Weber Canyon. The Donner-Reed party, just behind Heinrich Lienhard, followed Hastings's advice and instead took the route over Big Mountain, the trail later used by the Mormons. The James Frazier Reed journal tells of their backbreaking problems.

In the reissue of this comprehensive volume, Bagley and Schindler insert a new introduction that supplies interesting facts concerning the relationship of Dale Morgan, J. Roderic Korns, and Charles Kelly in their pursuit of western trail history. They explain the genesis of the book and their own procedures, using Morgan's marked-up copy and information found in Morgan's *Overland in 1846*. They also updated the highway

designations and added journals and other historic sources not available to Morgan.

Another edited journal destined to become a classic is *The Pioneer Camp of the Saints: The 1846 and 1847 Mormon Trail Journals of Thomas Bullock*, edited by Will Bagley, issued as Volume 1 in the *Kingdom in the West: The Mormons and the American Frontier* series published by the Arthur H. Clark Company. This amply annotated volume, containing illuminating introductions and footnotes, provides for the first time in complete published form Thomas Bullock's 1846 Poor Camp Journal and Journal of the 1847 Pioneer Camp, the official narrative by the "Clerk of the Camp of Israel." The detailed journals commence with a particularly vivid portrayal of the forced evacuation of the last remaining poor Saints from Nauvoo in September 1846. Ill, and with his wagons partly packed, Bullock records that "a body of men about 20 with [the] United States Flag [and] muskets, Bayonets, Swords and Belts came and surrounded my Wagons and ordered us off in 20 minutes and threatened if we were not gone when they returned, they would shoot me." The guards armed with "drawn sword . . . [and] cocked guns" did not even allow him time to retrieve his remaining possessions. During this time, the mob roamed the city "driving Saints from their homes—bursting open trunks, chests, tearing up floors," running through the temple "ringing the bell, shouting and halloing," and performing mock baptisms in the Mississippi River (67). Bullock's journal recounts the ordeal across Iowa, as the sick and hungry refugees attempted to organize. They spent considerable time on the daily ritual of searching for lost livestock, which often delayed the company the entire day; they did not reach Winter Quarters until the end of November.

Bullock's journal of the 1847 Pioneer Camp reflects a more orderly and speedy journey with Brigham Young at the helm. We see Young as a busy, hands-on leader, stripping down, for instance, to help build rafts at the North Platte crossing. Bullock's daily narrative suggests a rhythmical quality to the day-to-day activities that started with the morning horn sounding for early departure. Though Bullock frequently suffered from ill health, many days were almost idyllic as he describes a typical morning of 10 June 1847: "Opened with a lovely morning. The place I had to stand guard was on a hill where I had a beautiful view & delightful company, Birds were singing merrily. The country looked Green. . . . A solemnity prevailed near me & altogether to praise their Creator. Two Deer galloped by in their happy manner & 'the Brook murmured by' in its course to the Father of Waters" (187). Less idyllically, Bullock occasionally complains of discord with his bedfellow, George Brown, who actually strikes him with his whip at one point. Another persistent protest is the lack of time to keep his journal due to the excessive chores: driving a team, fetching water, obtaining wood, looking after the oxen, standing guard, loading wagons, and performing every other requested job. Bullock's journal takes the Pioneer

Camp to their new home in the Salt Lake Valley, and then back across the plains to Winter Quarters in the fall of 1847 as part of the horse and mule train. With the publication of Thomas Bullock's journal, one more piece of the picture of this legendary event in Mormon history is available for easy study.

Trailing the Pioneers: A Guide to Utah's Emigrant Trails, 1829-1869, edited by Peter H. DeLaFosse, is the only one of the selected sesquicentennial volumes that serves as a guide to Utah's physical pioneer trails for the weekend adventurer. Among the discussed trails are the Spanish Trail, designed to carry pack trains from Santa Fe to southern California across southern Utah and most heavily used between 1829 and 1848; the Bidwell-Bartleson trail, the route around the north and west sides of the Great Salt Lake of the first wagons to enter Utah in 1841; the Pioneer Trail, made famous by the Mormon Pioneer company of 1847; the Hastings Cutoff across the Great Salt Lake Desert; and, Hensley's Salt Lake Cutoff, the route from Salt Lake City north to the California Trail at the City of Rocks near the Nevada-Utah border. The chapter on each trail, written by an authority, furnishes a concise historical perspective followed by an easy-to-use automobile tour that traces an approximation of the route on modern highways and roads while interpreting the trail's history. The maps included with each trail are also quite useful when tracking the trails.

REVIEWS

A READER'S GUIDE TO PUBLISHERS OF MORMON WORKS

*The names and addresses of these presses are provided as a service to readers who may not find a desired work in a local bookstore. The **Journal** will be glad to add other publishers called to its attention.*

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Leonard J. Arrington. *Adventures of a Church Historian*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1998. 249 pp. Illustrations, sources, index. \$29.95. ISBN 0-252-02381-1

Reviewed by Paul M. Edwards

Dr. Leonard J. Arrington is both a good man and a good historian.¹ These facts become apparent in his recollections of the years spent, and the adventures had, as a church historian. It is in these two characteristics that we locate both the conflicts of his life and the intriguing appeal of this book.

There is an inclination among retired men and women, whose lives have reflected the cutting edge and troubled experiences of institutional involvement, to decide against any published recollections of those years. Perhaps this decision emerges from some combination of unnecessary humility and the genteel attitude that once out it is best to say nothing. There is, in fact, much to recommend silence if the author speaks only out of some personal disquietude or if his or her only purpose is to use life's last gift to the professional—that is, the ability to disconnect—to reaffirm convictions of an institutional life.

In this case, however, the publication of these reflections is an excellent addition to Dr. Arrington's long and impressive list of works. Writing such a book must have been fraught with subtle temptations and frightful realities: the temptation to emphasize the sins of others and some uneasiness at the thought of exposing one's own. Yet this remarkable man has chronicled this period, with all its furies and follies, in the quiet and gentle manner which has always marked his own life and contribution. Within the covers of this book we find significant insights into the research and writing of LDS Church history and the workings of the LDS bureaucracy that provide an understanding of conditions generally unknown and systems usually unappreciated. Such knowledge adds greatly to the literature of Mormon history.

Arrington came to his commitment to Mormon history having already established himself as an economic historian and a historian of the American West. He brought with him the credentials of excellence which he continued while in office. As the only one with such knowledge, he presents a delightful and insightful uncovering of a period many observed but few really ever understood.

There is no point in my restating here what he has already said so

¹ Note: This review was written on 1 December 1998, well before Leonard's death in February 1999 but not printed in the Spring 1999 issue of the *Journal* due to lack of space. It is printed here as it was written.

beautifully. My recommendation is to purchase the *Adventures of a Church Historian* and to read it carefully. The Mormon History Association, by awarding it a special citation for 1998, obviously corroborates.

I did have a little difficulty with the title of this well-printed volume. True, Leonard Arrington researched and wrote in the field of Mormon history and worked for the LDS Church. Thus he was *a* church historian. But in many respects, and certainly among those with whom he practiced his craft, Arrington was considered *the* Church historian. The position he occupied and the role he played was considerably different than that of a historian of Catholicism or even the designated historian of the RLDS movement. Arrington was the leading force in the historical leadership of a church which, by its very nature, is as much a nation as a religion. The Church survives and expands on its story as history rather than as doctrine. For those of his time—and this would include a long list of excellent, highly qualified, and prolific historians—Arrington was the model, the method, and the motivation. He was the focal point within the historical community during a time of metamorphosis from apologists to a new Mormon history. His role as a central figure in this transformation should not be underestimated.

Leonard Arrington was a leader of personal spirituality, political sensitivity, and administrative capability. Those who know him understand that he is a delightful person, charming, witty, loyal, and with an air of innocence which belies the degree of street wisdom he maintains. But he is also without guile. He knew the proper and politically correct thing to be done while actively pushing those boundaries as far as possible in the name of truth. He seems to have been able to walk in the midst of the political smog without getting too much on him.

But his story is also one of inevitable disillusion. "I had an unshakable conviction," he has written, "that it was possible, if a man was clever enough, to write professional history that would be accepted as such by the profession, and at the same time be acceptable to the intelligent LDS reader" (156). He was cured of this expectation, finally realizing that he had failed to "appreciate their [General Authorities'] belief" that many of the problems of our culture "were not the incidental consequences of 'liberal' ideas but were the actual agenda of 'liberal' activists" (156). He was restricted, and most certainly hurt, by the failure of those he served so well to appreciate the positive nature of his contribution.

I was a little surprised at the positive tone of Arrington's brief coverage of the Mark Hofmann forgeries and murders. His comments about Hofmann himself are forthright and certainly fair. But I was surprised at how kindly he interpreted the response of the LDS/RLDS historical community. Despite Arrington's positive comments, more than a few within this com-

munity not only jumped to conclusions but once or twice leaped across the fence into sensationalism. The historical community, to a significant degree, reacted as Hofmann had anticipated. One of the factors that made the Hofmann forgeries so successful was that he knew what questions the historians wanted answered. And he provided answers in a way that made it easy for the historical community to believe them. For instance, the RLDS community wanted to believe that the long-held assumption of young Joseph's blessing was substantiated by the discovery of the Joseph Smith blessing document.

Despite the destructive events of the Hofmann period, it is very possible that the shock of his efforts opened up some inquiries historians had wanted to consider—inquiries which, given a natural reluctance to venture where angels feared to tread, historians had avoided. The “existence” of these documents provided a brief, if in fact illegitimate, permission for exploration. It appears that Hofmann's aims were to re-write Mormon history to match his personal disbelief. But while he failed at that task, he may, despite himself, have made a contribution to the historical community.

Despite Leonard Arrington's many contributions, obvious ability, and good intentions, he is a hostage to his own hermeneutics. That is to say, he was caught between the methods and integrity of his discipline and an awareness of valid circumstances which encroached on his faith. Arrington's pursuit was in search of an objective truth, but it was objectivity understood by Arrington, and many of his generation—objectivity within the context of a powerful faith. But *objectivity* does not mean the same to the larger historical community as it has come to be interpreted by the Mormon community. Quite understandably Arrington became the focus of a great deal of talk, some wise and some very silly, about faith and objectivity in history. In these discussions, he maintained a calm, cool, and reflective attitude which assumed the legitimacy of his view, a view which allowed no distinction between the objective and the faithful historian. He writes, “In fulfilling our obligations as scholars we wanted to be responsible to the whole amplitude of human concerns—to human life in all its rich variety and diversity, in all its misery and grandeur, in all its ambiguity and contradictions” (72).

In the larger historical profession, *objectivity* has come to mean *ontological primacy*. It seeks, however unsuccessfully, to acknowledge “facts” in isolation from personal understandings and interpretations. Arrington understands this and makes a considerable effort both to acknowledge that primacy and to move beyond. He quotes Bernard Bailyn: “The fact that there is no such thing as perfect antisepsis does not mean that one might as well do brain surgery in a sewer” (72 note 6). So he has walked a careful track among the

traditions of his calling and what many see as the relativism of the modern era. The gap is the irreconcilable difference among theories, understanding, and interpretation. Arrington assumes that facts are not irreconcilable, nor does interpretation provide a license for arbitrariness. Arrington acknowledges the difficulty of objectivity and accepts the validity of subjectivity in interpretation. But he wishes to function well within the best, if limited, methods of his discipline.

But what he acknowledges is a meaning far more important than what happened, or was said, or recorded. To give this view a name, I would suggest that Arrington has drifted toward what Jean Goulden calls "postrevisionist synthesis." In his work Arrington seeks to bring out the guiding and underlying intentions of events, lives, documents, statements, in an effort to resolve a central problem. History is not the record of facts as much as it is the emergence of answers to the problems present in the interrelationships between events, persons, and time. The methodological principles involved, the criteria of correct understanding, is described as the harmony of all the details as they rest within the whole.

Leonard Arrington is a man of faith. He is also an honest man seeking to acknowledge the fullest meaning of the past. In his study of Mormon history, Arrington has found all the evidence he needs for the support of his belief—not necessarily in the truth or falsity of some particular event or understanding, but rather in the harmony of its meaning. This historical verification is not the source of his beliefs but rather is the unfolding evidence of belief in action. "We wanted neither to sell our fellow human beings short nor to overrate them," he writes. "Behind the personal decisions and vast impersonal forces of history, we also saw divine purposes at work. We looked for the working of God both in the whirlwinds and in the still small voices" (72). I do not see the same things he saw, though I look in the same places; but if this is Leonard Arrington's historical testimony, then it calls on us all to take a better look.

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Leonard J. Arrington. *Madelyn Cannon Stewart Silver: Poet, Teacher, Homemaker*. Salt Lake City: Publishers Press for Silver Publishers, Inc., 1998. xvi +

331 pp. Photographs, notes, references, published and unpublished sources, index. Appendices: chronology, the Barnard Joseph and Leonora Mousley Cannon Stewart family, and the Harold Farnes and Madelyn Cannon Stewart Silver Family. \$29.95. Order from Silver Publishers, Inc., 4391 S. Carol Jane Drive, Salt Lake City, UT 84124-3601. ISBN 1-886472-45-9

Reviewed by Lavina Fielding Anderson

If there is such a thing as a “Mormon princess,” then Madelyn Cannon Stewart qualified. Born at the turn of the twentieth century, she was the granddaughter of Angus Cannon, long-time president of Salt Lake Stake, and Isaac Stewart, bishop in Draper for more than thirty years. Polygamy on both sides of her family wove her into the political and ecclesiastical elite. Possibly even more important, this social status was accompanied by sufficient affluence, continued by a prominent attorney-father, to assure that Madelyn would grow up in the Cannon family’s Forest Dale neighborhood among the best and brightest youngsters of her generation, have the best education the University of Utah could offer, and take her place with assurance and grace in the generation who came to power in the wave of national acceptance and respect that pushed the battles over polygamy and statehood into a distinctly old-fashioned past. Wherever she traveled—and she traveled widely—she had a network of comfortably well-off friends and relatives, creating an automatic atmosphere of privilege. If Madelyn had stayed in Salt Lake City, she almost certainly would have served many years on the general board of one or more of the Mormon women’s auxiliaries and possibly in a general presidency. Her diary, kept from age thirteen, will be a gold mine for the social historian reconstructing the life of Mormonism’s elite from 1915 to 1960.

Arrington reconstructs the life of a woman who stood between two worlds. Fantastically well read by today’s post-literacy standards, Silver was passionate about literature, responded to it aesthetically, and aspired to be a writer. She wrote poetry from an early age; and although she tended to avoid the experiments with form and subject that made American poetry crackle between World War I and the 1950s, much of it is very good and intelligently critiqued in Arrington’s text. However, none of it was ever published during Silver’s lifetime. The emotional and intellectual support that she received from important female mentors like her unmarried aunt Ann Mousley Cannon (for forty years the YLMIA’s general secretary) also set limits on her personal and professional exploration.

As a girl, Madelyn’s dual aspirations were represented by the mountains and forests she roamed each summer at the family ranch at the head of the Provo River and by the city with its cultural possibilities and wealth of

educational experiences but also with its expectation that she would find her life's work as a Mormon wife and mother. "It is a commentary on Madelyn's culture that the two directions of her nature were not compatible," comments Arrington astutely, "—that she felt she had to choose" (51). She longed to attend Wellesley College, but her mother refused—Wellesley did not have a home economics major—and sent her to the University of Utah where the dean of women's orientation was clear: "The goal of the college girl should be to attain the highest position of woman, that of homemaker, wife and mother" (53).

It is, perhaps, not reading motivations irresponsibly into the text to see that Madelyn, still unmarried after graduation and feeling unhappy and isolated during her first year of school teaching, decided not to decide but instead allowed an overmastering love to bear her into her future. She ended one engagement when her fiancé proved insufficiently intense and somewhat hesitatingly accepted the proposal of Harold Silver. Although not quite of her social class, he was an mechanical engineer-inventor of ardent ambition who had fallen in love with her after two encounters and who pursued her relentlessly.

They were married in February 1929, the month before both turned twenty-eight. Their first daughter and son were born in Ogden and Salt Lake City; then in 1934, they moved to Denver where they lived for the rest of their lives. Their last two children, another daughter and son, were born here. Despite the Great Depression, Harold's inventions—notably in sugar-beet manufacturing and mining—gave them a comfortable living almost at once; and both became pillars of the local Mormon community and Denver society. Arrington lists sixteen organizations that Madelyn belonged to and often officered. Especially important was a literary club—still in existence—that she organized and set out curriculum for.

Madelyn, who recorded that she had a dream about "an idea for a group of stories" when she was pregnant with her first child, became a gifted teacher in volunteer settings (114) but never pursued fiction. Arrington records her admission to her children, probably during the 1950s, "You know, if I had really wanted to make writing my life career, I would have done it. I now realize I was merely using family life as an excuse" (253). But he also quotes her diary entry at age sixty in which she confesses her hunger "to discover and record the meaning of life before I am seventy. . . This unstillness of my mind is the reason for my writing. My mind has always been restless, probing every mood, yearning for every experience, analyzing every circumstance." Now, with her youngest son off to Harvard, she resolved, "I'll make my own life" (288-29). A year later, she was dead of a aneurism.

Arrington does not play “what if” games with Madelyn’s life, but the questions are inescapable. Could a woman of Madelyn’s generation and religion combine family life, faith, and a serious writing career? Probably not. Neither Maurine Whipple nor Virginia Sorensen succeeded. Would she have chosen art over her husband and children? Certainly not. Madelyn’s devotion to her children and love for Harold brighten this biography. But was family life, a central role in Denver social life, her philanthropies, her travels, and her leadership in the Mormon community enough for Madelyn? No, not quite. And that nagging incompleteness, the hunger for more, provides an element of poignancy that adds unexpected depth and richness to this work.

There are a few technical glitches: occasional repetitions in the text that hinder the smooth-flowing prose, a too skimpy index, especially on subject entries, and an occasional unanswered question. For instance, Arrington notes that Madelyn began suffering from Meniere’s disease in her early twenties, after, but not caused by, an auto accident in which a friend was killed; it was not diagnosed, however, until after she was married with children (72-73). It is an “incurable disorder of the inner ear” that left her partially deaf and caused sporadic bouts of vertigo. However, he doesn’t mention this ailment again, even though it must have created a certain amount of hardship and discomfort for her for the rest of her life.

These are mere quibbles however. The book is attractively designed and produced, studded with a generous number of photographs that show Madelyn and her family across the years. For me, however, Arrington’s greatest achievement in this book, perhaps drawn from his own two happy marriages, is the honest chronicle of a real marriage of true lovers. The post-honeymoon period showed Madelyn experimenting with recipes to entertain guests, practicing the piano, teaching MIA, and “playing at being lovers” (her phrase). Meanwhile, Harold was “sleeping only three or four hours at night” as he worked on his next invention (109). In Denver, the mother of three children born in five years, frightened by a painful case of phlebitis, and feeling neglected by Harold, she wrote on Mother’s Day, 1936:

I am as discouraged and hopeless as anyone could be. This is a nightmare I am living. . . . There is hardly a spot that is not aching and sore. I am a failure as a mother. . . . Elizabeth is worse. Barney is utterly unmanageable. Judy is angelic in disposition, but underweight and without appetite. . . . I am a crab. . . . Harold ordered some flowers . . . withered and lanky, like me. I am very bitter in my heart. Colorado has separated me from Harold. (141-42)

After twenty-four years of marriage, however, she was writing him:

More and more I am envying just your presence, just your being near. When you are away I have a kind of yearning for all our togetherness means. . . . It seems especially wonderful that as I read or see plays or movies, or listen to opera, you still measure up to all that a girl's hero should be. You are a wonderful lover, romantic and delightful. The essence of your manhood represents all the old ideas of chivalry: strength, protection from harm, taking the responsibility of guidance, tenderness, and virility. Yes, you see, my Husband, I am still very much in love with you (205).

Both strands—the lofty romance and the rocky realism—are woven together in a remarkable personal essay, “The Hike to Rainbow Bridge” (1959) that begins with her confession of “fury” stemming from early morning irritation at Harold’s methodical ways at setting their camp in order when she longed to strike out for the monument on her own. The literal hike is overlaid with the emotional journey they take separately and together that becomes a superb and understated metaphor for their marriage (263-70). It does not paraphrase well but, like the rest of this sparkling biography, well deserves a thoughtful reading.

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Terryl L. Givens. *The Viper on the Hearth: Mormons, Myths, and the Construction of Heresy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997. viii + 205 pp. endnotes, index. \$35.00. ISBN 0-19-510183-9.

Reviewed by Steven C. Harper

Edmund S. Morgan, an eminent historian of early America, writes of dilemmas and paradoxes that pervade our past and therefore shape the present. How, for instance, could Puritans, pushed out of England by persecutors, become persecutors themselves? How could colonial Virginians dedicate their lives to human liberty and simultaneously deprive men, women, and children of theirs? Terryl Givens’s intelligently conceived, Morgan-like analysis, asks of anti-Mormon animosity, “*What rationales* were necessarily invoked, given the investment American society had in religious diversity and its heritage of commitment to religious pluralism?” (19; emphasis Givens’s). Givens wonders “how transgression comes to be represented when unacceptable difference manifests itself in the midst of a community or society that has already founded its identity on ideals of pluralism and tolerance” (59).

A clue toward answering these questions comes from *Cosmopolitan’s*

1911 depiction of Mormonism as a viper on America's hearth. Givens explores literary representations to discern the role popular fiction has played in making Mormonism into heresy—"an especially slippery category in a pluralistic society" (124). He finds that a set of mid-nineteenth-century economic, educational, and technological trends led to generic chaos, literarily speaking, which made fiction an unusually powerful determinant of popular perceptions. It did not seem unusual in 1870, therefore, when, from the floor of the Senate, A. H. Cragin drew liberally from outrageous fictional representations to appeal for anti-Mormon legislation, or when affiants against Utah statehood unabashedly affirmed they had read fictional accounts of Mormonism and "believe[d] each one to be true" (119).

Though Givens did not primarily intend to write a history, much of Part I gracefully provides an outline of the Mormon past to readers unfamiliar with it. Chapter 2, "This Upstart Sect," ranks high among summaries of nineteenth-century Mormonism. Moreover, Givens convincingly challenges the recent deemphasis of the deeply religious nature of Mormon-Missourian conflict in favor of competing versions of republican (or theocratic) rhetoric. Skillful textual analysis identifies pervasive theological qualms informing the primary documents of the Missouri conflict, even as those documents assert social, political, and economic differences. In this view, republican rhetoric masked actual animosity which, unveiled, proved to be "orthodoxy" loathing "heresy." This aspect is then enlarged from a Missouri microcosm to an American paradox by the third chapter that compares Mormonism's "heretical" characteristics with those of other ante-bellum American heterodoxies.

Once fixed in context, the question remains why Mormonism drew severe ire for such an extended period when such groups as Spiritualists, Adventists, Shakers, and the Oneida commune excited considerably less outrage. (No other church has been sentenced to literal extermination by a governor or has had federal troops dispatched to bring it into conformity.) Givens attributes Mormon exceptionalism to the particular type of "heresy" involved. Since in Mormonism "the *objects* of belief are essentially the same" as those in mainstream Christianity, it was Joseph Smith's "hostility to the tradition of religious discourse" that proved so threatening (88-89, emphasis Givens's). Smith's claims that a corporeal angel oversaw the "transcription, publication, and marketing" of heftable new scripture, regardless of what it said, endangered the sacred distance that validated orthodox ideas of Christian origins (90). Herein lies the book's most engaging argument.

In Part II, Givens describes the circumstances that fostered the construction of Mormon heresy in popular fiction and delineates—with rich

evidence—patterns that emerge from numerous, fictional representations in popular novels. Their recurring captivity/bondage themes coupled with Oriental images “serve as the means by which the heretically suspect become cast as the ethnically distinct, demarcated as Other, transgressive and dangerous” (124). Meanwhile sales did not suffer, Givens suggests, when such themes simultaneously satisfied readers’ prurience and sense of superior morality. Herein lies the book’s most insightful argument.

A discussion of new variations on old themes in the concluding chapter asserts, with a mixed tone of relief and apprehension, that nineteenth-century “laxness regarding generic categories made it possible to galvanize and organize public opinion in a way that is no longer possible” (120). Fortunately, it seems unlikely today that a member of Congress could approvingly cite fiction as credible evidence of Mormon behavior. But the patterns Givens identifies in nineteenth-century fiction still pervade profitable pulp-fiction, anti-Mormon films and tracts produced by fundamentalists, and recent books by intellectuals Paul Fussell and Harold Bloom. Meanwhile “cult” has replaced “heresy” in popular discourse; but, Givens argues, “it may be no easier today than in the nineteenth century to sort out hysterical hatemongering from objective reporting of the facts when a new and threatening presence appears on the American cultural or religious scene” (158).

The prose, illustrations, and overall construction of the book are aesthetically pleasing. The exemplary scholarship significantly enriches Mormon historiography. But this book has capabilities beyond that contribution. It could influence American religion studies in the same way that Walter Bauer’s *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971) challenged and changed perceptions. Its place in Oxford’s weighty, broadly defined Religion in America Series suggests the degree to which it illuminates dilemmas and paradoxes central to American religion and culture generally. Conspicuous qualifiers and demure tone aside, the book merits the Best First Book award it won from the Mormon History Association with a prize for criticism from the Association for Mormon Letters following. It ought to be read by serious students of Mormonism, but no less so by anyone interested in American religion, literature, and culture. Few books succeed, as this one does, in stimulating thought far beyond their own scope.

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Dan Erickson, *"As a Thief in the Night." The Mormon Quest for Millennial Deliverance*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1998. xv + 278 pp. Photographs, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95. ISBN 1-56085-100-7

Reviewed by Grant Underwood

Thief in the Night is a history of nineteenth-century LDS expectations of the "great and dreadful day of the Lord," particularly as those expectations both reflected and reinforced "the contentious relationship between the Mormon church and American society" (5). "This study," writes Erickson, "approaches Mormon millennialism from the point of view of its separatist tendencies" (2-3). The first two thirds of the book covers the 1830-46 period, while the final third skims over the subsequent half century. Throughout his narrative, Erickson focuses on how various events in Mormon history fueled apocalyptic anticipations that the Saints' oppressors would be destroyed (hence the subtitle: "Quest for Millennial Deliverance") and how that rhetoric and LDS "come-out-of-Babylon" theology were symbiotically related.

Since other historians, myself included, have already noted these tendencies and since my study of eschatological themes in the pre-Utah period was published only six years ago,¹ I searched for the new evidence or new interpretation that are the usual scholarly justification for a book on a familiar topic. Had *Thief in the Night* focused on Mormon millennialism in the second half of the nineteenth century, it might have made a real contribution. The only extended discussion of that period to date has been Louis Reinwand, "An Interpretive Study of Mormon Millennialism During the Nineteenth Century with Emphasis on Millennial Developments in Utah" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1971). Unfortunately, 148 of *Thief's* 229 pages deal with the well-plowed pre-Utah period. One place, though, where *Thief* breaks new ground is Chapter 8, in which Erickson details the relationship between antipolygamy persecution and apocalyptic yearnings more fully than others have done.

¹ Grant Underwood, *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993). Others who have explored this topic include Marvin S. Hill, Stephen Stein, and Keith Norman.

The problem is not that Erickson is unaware of the work of other historians. Indeed, his footnotes are filled with references to secondary sources. When I began to check those sources, however, it became apparent that he had, in fact, borrowed heavily from them, not only in concept but in wording. Here is an example from only two successive paragraphs:

Original Source

Book of Mormon society was divided into two main factions: Nephites who were true Christians and who established a theocratic government . . . , and Lamanites who were atheists and who waged a war of extermination on God's elect (Marvin Hill, *Quest for Refuge*, xii).

I find the most striking theme in the Book of Mormon to be the apocalyptic judgment that hangs like an ominous cloud over the rich and successful businessmen of Jacksonian America . . . (Nathan Hatch, *Journal of Mormon History* 20:26)

Nephite society thrived only at times when prophet-statesmen controlled the government and . . . was anti-pluralistic, for dissent and diversity were always atheistic and destructive. (Hill, xii).

In the Book of Mormon . . . the good side always fights in the defense of its liberties, its families, its wives, and its children. It is never the aggressor. The good side sends out missionaries to bring the light to those in darkness. The bad side sends out armies of invasion (O'Dea, *The Mormons*, 33)

Mormonism sprang from an overt repudiation of pluralism, entrepreneurial ambition, religious competition, and freedom of individual thought . . . (Hatch, 27)

Thief in the Night

. . . the Book of Mormon's description of two main factions—true Christians under a theocratic government, and atheists who waged war against the righteous . . . (53).

The Book of Mormon also predicted that an ominous cloud of apocalyptic judgment hung over businessmen of Jacksonian America (53).

. . . dissent and pluralism were always destructive and evil. The ideal Book of Mormon government was led by a prophet-king. . . (53) .

. . . Never the aggressors in the Book of Mormon, the Nephites defended liberties, families, wives, and children, sending out missionaries to convert the wicked, while the Lamanites continually battled the people of God . . . (53)

Mormonism, at its heart, rejected entrepreneurial ventures, religious competition, and freedom of thought . . . (54).

Though the sources for the first three parallels are not cited (I came across them while doing some checking), the last two references are. Erickson knows and occasionally follows the professional protocol of using the crucial “in” or “cited in” when referencing sources, but he does so inconsistently and far too infrequently. The author also fails to follow the convention of identifying this work as stemming from his 1996 master’s thesis or acknowledging that some portions previously appeared in the *Journal of Mormon History* and *Dialogue*. For a book to incorporate an author’s prior work is neither unusual nor inappropriate; for it to fail to acknowledge that fact is.

There are other ways in which Erickson’s handling of sources fails to meet the standards of the historical profession. Consider this example:

Original Source

[Mormons] speak a language of hope and promise to weak, weary hearts, tossed and troubled, who have wandered from sect to sect, seeking in vain for the primal manifestations of the divine power (John Greenleaf Whittier)

Thief in the Night

Meeting a variety of needs, Mormonism offered hope and promise to the troubled who had sought in vain the primal manifestations of divine power (63).

To begin with, Erickson should have quoted Whittier’s familiar and stylistically elegant words from “A Mormon Conventicle” rather than paraphrase it so flatly. The real problem, however, is that Erickson, instead of acknowledging Whittier, cites: “Harrison, *The Second Coming*, 184, 191; Wood, ‘Evangelical America and Early Mormonism,’ 380” (63 note 126), mistakenly implying that the idea and wording are Erickson’s distillation from Harrison and Wood. Actually, Erickson simply borrowed Wood’s source (Harrison) for the unacknowledged Whittier quotation to expand his own footnote as evidenced by the fact that the same two separated Harrison pages that Wood cites appear in Erickson. Yet Wood cited two different Harrison pages because they were the source for two different quotations he was using—Whittier’s words and an unrelated statement from Alexander Campbell. Such faux pas can occur when someone else’s sources are borrowed but not checked.

A related example is Erickson’s unattributed use of my distillation of differences between pre- and postmillennialism:

Underwood, 4:

... premillennialists believed that there

Erickson, 65:

... awaiting two parousias, two physical

be would be two comings, two physical resurrections, and two judgments. The first resurrection would occur at the time of Christ's premillennial advent and would involve only the faithful dead. The rest of humanity would come forth after the millennium as the second resurrection.

resurrections, and two judgements. The first resurrection would be of the faithful where Christ would reign personally on the earth, with the rest of humanity resurrected at the end of a thousand years.

Framing the distinction in terms of two was a novel idea that resulted from several months of pondering the literature of the field. I was thus dismayed that, after appropriating my insight—and very nearly my wording—Erickson footnotes another source: Robert Clouse, *Meaning of the Millennium*, 7 (65 note 1). Unfortunately, this citation does not contain any of the above ideas because it is actually my source for a separate quotation I used to introduce my discussion. An insight appropriated without proper acknowledgment feels like an intellectual kidnapping.

Other parallels also seem more than coincidental

Underwood:

By the time the Mormons appeared on the scene there were basically *two* rival millennial visions of the future. (3)

... more than simply believing that the millennium is near. It is a comprehensive way of looking at human history ... (2)

Erickson:

At Mormonism's inception two rival world views . . . anticipated differing future millennial kingdoms. (13)

More than mere theology, millennialism is a way of looking at the world, human history . . . (13)

I further found familiar Erickson's examination of the dual character of the gathering and the role of the Indians (Underwood 30-31/Erickson 47-48); his discussion of the Saints' social and soteriological dualism (Underwood 43-45/Erickson 55-56), their typological expectation that they would act out biblical narratives (Underwood 58-62/Erickson 50-51); and my excavation (unique, as far as I know) of the early LDS interpretation that 3 Nephi 16:10 was literally fulfilled in the exodus west (Underwood 95/Erickson 147). Buttressing his comment that Mormon missionaries to England tapped the millennialism of the day, Erickson lists five sources but omits my chapter "The Millenarian Appeal of Mormonism in England" (82 note 64).

Erickson, of course, does cite me on a number of occasions, but these citations fall short of adequately acknowledging his real debt. In the first paragraph of his book, I found five of the same sources I used in the second paragraph of mine, including nearly identical excerpts from two of those sources. Citing the same topically relevant sources is one thing; repeatedly

employing identical or nearly identical wording is another. For instance, I quote anthropologist Mary Douglas on dualism. Erickson does so as well, and he breaks her words in exactly the same three places I do (Underwood 164 note 17/Erickson 55 note 95). In the use of early Mormon sources, I counted dozens of examples of virtually the same excerpt being used (e.g., Underwood 50/Erickson 97; Underwood 50/Erickson 81; Underwood 80/Erickson 75).

Beyond attribution problems, Erickson exhibits other problems in handling his sources. One is an uncritical acceptance of all sources as if they were equally valid. For example: “predicting ‘there would never be another President of the United States elected,’ Martin Harris declared, ‘soon all temporal and spiritual power would be given over to the prophet Joseph Smith and the Latter Day Saints,’ and only those who believed in the Book of Mormon would remain to ‘see Christ’” (71). Rather than being a primary Harris source, this statement appears in a contemptuous letter written in 1898 by a former Palmyra bookbinder’s apprentice reporting what he, as a teenager, says he heard Harris say around 1830. Erickson quotes this document without questioning the accuracy of a memory reconstructed nearly seventy years later or without alerting readers to the biases of the work in which the letter was printed—William A. Linn’s *Story of the Mormons* (New York: Macmillan, 1902). Erickson also quotes Martin Harris’s alleged prophecy that “in four years from the date hereof, every sectarian and religious denomination in the United States, shall be broken down, and every Christian shall be gathered unto the Mormonites, and the rest of the human race shall perish” (71 note 20). The source is anti-Mormon Eber D. Howe’s *Mormonism Unveiled* which most historians use with great caution because of its obvious bias but which Erickson quotes without qualification.

There is also a noticeable lack of nuance in how Erickson interprets his sources. For instance, Erickson writes that “until his death in 1887, John Taylor believed he would die in Jackson County” (198). For this relatively little-known claim, Erickson cites Reinwand who cites the *Millennial Star* report of Taylor’s funeral. That report includes a copy of an 1873 letter from Taylor, responding to Brigham Young’s request to have him outline “the way I wish to be buried.” After several paragraphs detailing his preferences “should I die here [Utah],” Taylor adds a final sentence: “should I die in Jackson County, Mo., let the above directions be carried out, as far as is practicable” (*Millennial Star* 49 [29 August 1887]: 547). To say that in 1873 John Taylor did not consider it beyond the realm of possibility that he might die in Jackson County is revealing enough. To say that he went to his grave in 1887 believing he would die in Jackson County is an undocumented overstatement.

Thief in the Night also contains careless errors. Erickson claims that “as

late as November 1889 Woodruff confirmed that ‘the Lord will never give a revelation to abandon plural marriage’ . . .” (200), citing Woodruff’s and Nuttall’s diaries and *Messages of the First Presidency*. None of the three, however, contains the quotation. It actually comes from Heber J. Grant’s journal, and the date of the remark was not November 1889. Erickson also mistakenly ascribes an 1832 declaration by W. W. Phelps about the end of the world to Joseph Smith (70). The source cited is *History of the Church* but that history clearly indicates that it is reproducing material from Phelps’s the *Evening and Morning Star* 1 (July 1832): [14]. In yet another example, Erickson writes, “If elected, Smith intended to combine state and religion. . . . The ‘Church must not triumph over [the] State,’ he declared, ‘but actually swallow it up like Moses’ rod swallowed up the rods of the Egyptians” (138). This certainly supports the un-American theocratic aggressiveness that Erickson attributes to the Prophet, but the statement was actually made by an anonymous “Friend to the Mormons” as a gloss on the biblical prophecy “the kingdoms of this world [shall] become the kingdom of our God and of his Christ” (*Times and Seasons* 5 [15 March 1844]: 477).

In addition to all else, the book offers disappointingly little analysis. For example, when the nation did not crumble during the Civil War, Erickson sidesteps an opportunity to discuss how the Saints processed this result, so different from their expectations, and merely points out that Mormons “had to push their hoped-for millennial kingdom into the indefinite future” (177). Later he stresses that the Mormons confidently expected the end to occur around 1890/91, based on their interpretation of D&C 130:14-17 and Smith’s February 1835 comment that “fifty-six years should wind up the scene” (*History of the Church* 2:182). Erickson’s point that lessening tensions with the Gentiles after the 1890 Manifesto impacted apocalyptic rhetoric is valid; but as he himself documents, Christ’s nonappearance in 1890/91 did not immediately undermine adventist expectations. He also fails to spell out the turn-of-the-century transformation in Mormon millennial thought that he says occurred. Related to a lack of analytical depth is the fact that Erickson almost never takes issue with existing scholarship, nor does he engage the various historical debates on his subject.

In sum, although *Thief in the Night* multiplies examples of already familiar nineteenth-century LDS eschatological views, it contains few perspective-changing primary sources or fresh interpretations and seriously mishandles its sources. These deficiencies suggest inadequate review procedures on the part of the publisher. Of course, if the book was intended primarily as a work of popularization, then its interpretive banality and evidentiary redundancy are of less consequence, and I can recommend it with the usual *caveat emptor*. As a work of cutting-edge scholarship, however, I cannot.

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Bryan Waterman and Brian Kagel. *The Lord's University: Freedom and Authority at BYU*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1998. xii + 474 pp. Notes, illustrations, index. \$19.95. ISBN 1-56085-117-1

Reviewed by Wayne C. Booth

Like any graduate of BYU who has tried to keep up on its history, I did not need this book to learn of innumerable conflicts between authorities and scholars pursuing their view of truth. During my time there (1938-42; BA '44), I heard many stories about early battles, especially the enforced resignations of four professors who insisted on teaching evolution. Three were driven out in 1911. One, Ralph Chamberlin, later wrote a fine biography of his brother, W. H. Chamberlin¹ who struggled on for a few more years but finally left for the University of Utah in 1917. He had become a kind of hero for several of my teachers, and I was puzzled about how "my" university could have done such a thing. I remember fearing that my favorite professors—Parley P. Christensen, Karl Young, A. C. Lambert, and M. Wilford Poulson—would suffer the same fate.

Such memories were reinforced in 1996 when I visited the campus as an "outside appraiser" of the English Department graduate program. A fair number of faculty members told me they felt harassed. Some hoped to "escape" to other jobs—not because they felt that the Church was wrong to have standards and enforce them but because they could not obtain clear written statements of what the standards were, only oral commands.

Even with this background, I was surprised by the intensity and quantity of conflicts revealed in Waterman's and Kagel's history. Most distressing was the demonizing committed by both sides. The authors document cases of administrative accusations that flatly contradict the facts about the victim's beliefs and behavior; sometimes they even contradict earlier statements by the same administrators (211, 228, 230, 380). Equally distressing, the victims and their defenders sometimes counter with accusations that show no awareness of or sympathy for the problems faced by the administration. There were honorable exceptions, such as professors William A.

¹ Ralph Chamberlin, *The Philosophy of W. H. Chamberlin* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1925).

"Bert" Wilson and William Evenson, who worked hard for reconciliation, and administrators Jay Fox and Richard Duerden, who tried to moderate among extremists (393-94).

The book is not organized chronologically but thematically, tracking dramatic conflicts especially of the past decade. "Our objective was to tell the stories as the documentation suggests they happened . . .," the authors explain. "[Though] some degree of interpretation is inevitable . . . the book does not aim to engage in theoretical debates about the nature of religious higher education. . . . We tried to focus attention on the ways in which the stories unfolded to the public" (ix). Though the authors have obvious objections to many administrative moves, they claim to have reported matters fairly.

Chapter 1 surveys Mormon views of education, hinting at the inevitable conflicts between freedom and authority. Chapter 2, "Women and Feminism at BYU," concentrates on downgrading and unjustified firing of female faculty. Chapter 3 reports the struggles with censorship of the official campus paper, the *Universe*, and the off-campus *Student Review*. (Kagel had edited the first, Waterman the second.) Chapter 4 traces how the student-devised honor code that set the tone during my campus days was transformed by President Ernest L. Wilkinson, often against opposition from General Authorities, into an identification of "character" with dress style and grooming.

Chapter 5 contrasts official statements claiming to support academic freedom with evidence of violations in practice, including a detailed account of the marginalization of the Sunstone Symposium and *Sunstone* magazine. Chapters 6-8 trace the firings or forced departures of English faculty Cecilia Konchar Farr, Brian Evenson, and Gail Houston, and anthropologist David C. Knowlton, in the broader context of the 1993-95 high-profile disciplinary actions against Mormon scholars and feminists. Chapter 9 explores the American Association of University Professors' report censuring the administration for violations of academic freedom. A final chapter, sketching the broader context of the "culture wars" between traditionalists and post-modernists, examines cases like the suppression of three male nude sculptures and *The Kiss* from a Rodin exhibit at BYU's Museum of Art.

The book is an impressive and honorable job of investigative reporting, one that will prove indispensable to future historians of BYU, the Church, and any fair-minded authority hoping to improve the school. I wish, however, that Waterman and Kagel had faced more fully two main problems: the reliability and adequacy of their sources and the relation of BYU's problems to those faced by all universities committed both to a particular religion and to honest scholarship.

They have worked hard on the first problem, attempting to document every charge, quoting all sides liberally, and providing more than seventy-five pages of small-type endnotes with explicit quotations from almost every contestant. Some of these footnotes—as much as three hundred words long—create dramatic stories of how the authors themselves were investigated (e.g., 249, 413 note 79). But critical-minded historians will find themselves asking, “Have they really troubled to interview adequately the person quoted here?” Or: “How would Dean X respond to this account of his role?” When, for example, they report a key meeting of Brian Evenson, Jay Fox (department chair), President Rex Lee, Provost Bruce Hafen, and Randall Jones (college dean), the account seems drawn entirely from Evenson (327-37). Did some or all of the other participants refuse to be interviewed or did the authors neglect to ask them? Although it might have seemed mean-spirited to reiterate in the notes, “We asked for an interview with So-and-So on such-and-such a date and were refused” or “So-and-so did not return our telephone calls,” such documentation would have at least clarified that the authors had made a good faith effort to invite voices from all sides of the contest. As it is, the reader is left to wonder.

The second problem is the failure to address fully the dilemmas that plague the administration of any denomination-centered university. Though the authors understandably chafe over BYU’s capriciously changing rules and arbitrary enforcement, they largely ignore the inescapable conflict facing any administration committed both to sound scholarship and religious truth.

At this moment, Catholic authorities are trying to reverse the secularization of their colleges by insisting that bishops certify the spiritual qualifications of faculty teaching religion. Catholic scholars, some of whom I’ve talked with personally, are responding with horror: the pursuit of truth is under threat. The plain fact is that religious fidelity and scholarly inquiry can never entirely escape conflict. Professors committed both to the Church and to scholarly integrity will encounter equally committed administrators who balance the proportions differently. What’s more, every institution committed to a particular denomination’s standards will justifiably fear destructive incursions from the “outside,” including secular scholarship. The history of American universities reveals that when any church becomes overly tolerant of academic unorthodoxy its university will disappear into the secular scene. BYU would have no reason to claim financial support from members’ tithing if it abandoned the mission to produce scholars committed to the highest religious ideals. The handling of controversy by authorities can thus be honorable, defensible, genuinely righteous, even as it seems to equally committed LDS scholars to violate the very different noble ideals that they defend. Waterman and Kagel, while documenting

the clash of ideals, make little effort to distinguish the perspectives from which equally ardent defenders of the faith adjudge conflicting perspectives as illegitimate.

Perhaps if they had worked harder at this task, they might have improved the chances for institutional reforms. But I fear that most who are in the university's governing structure, from top to bottom, will dismiss this book as merely biased and offensive. They will rightly fear that readers like me, who are nostalgic for the debate-blessed campus of the forties, may be tempted to sneak in some night and change the university motto from "The Glory of God Is Intelligence" to "The Glory of God Is Obedience."

To any such unfair exaggeration of official views, the authorities would reply (and on rare occasion they *do* reply in this book)—that they are not opposed to academic freedom or free agency; they simply want everyone to exercise free agency in the "right" way. Of all our ideals, this is perhaps the hope most communally shared. But the BYU that emerges from *The Lord's University* is one in which students and faculty are expected, too much of the time, to discover the right way simply by asking superiors to draw the map.

Whatever its oversights or exaggerations, this book ought to be read by every Mormon who cares about the future of Mormon education.

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Joan Smyth Iversen. *The Antipolygamy Controversy in the U.S. Women's Movement, 1880-1925: A Debate on the American Home*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1997. xiv + 320 pp. Notes, bibliography, and index. ISBN 0-8153-2079-5

Reviewed by Patricia Lyn Scott

The Antipolygamy Controversy in U.S. Women's Movements, 1880-1925, the second volume in Garland's Development of American Feminism Series, is a crucially important study by a noted women's historian, Joan Smyth Iversen. Its three-part purpose is to study "the role of women in the anti-Mormon agitation from 1870 to 1925, the impact of this movement on organized suffrage, and the meanings of the rhetoric it employed" (3).

The book's importance is belied by its rather bland title, its nondescript cover design, and some unfortunate design choices: (1) Chapter numbers

are omitted from the contents page; (2) the chapter endnotes are the same type size as the text but separated by extra line spacing so that the notes actually contain more white space than the text, (3) the running heads and page numbers are at the bottom of the pages, (4) the bibliography—unnecessarily separated into the categories of manuscripts, books, articles, and theses—is overdesigned so that the author in the manuscript collection appears on a separate line, again with full line spacing between each entry; (5) a list of periodicals (identified as “Journals”) such as *Woman’s Exponent* and *Anti-Polygamy Standard* appears with dates of publication but with no indication of what city they were published in, which group published it, or which archive currently has complete runs of these publications, many of which are quite rare. I would have preferred more conventional book-making (such as footnotes) with the extra space being turned back to the author; I’m sure she could have made good use of it.

Readers should not, however, let these mechanical hindrances—and a few minor glitches like *Wilferd* instead of *Wilford* Woodruff—put them off. This book is the first clear narrative of the women’s antipolygamy movement, a deeply researched, carefully written, comprehensive, and valuable analysis of events, personalities, causes, and effects. Although Iversen modestly calls it a “beginning for further inquiry” (preface), thus inviting detailed histories of virtually every movement and organization, this work establishes the field within which future scholars will work and confirms definitively the importance of antipolygamy activism in the nineteenth-century U.S. woman’s movement.

The book proceeds chronologically, first with the background of “the Mormon question” and the 1869-79 “alliance” between suffragists and Mormon women. Iversen’s survey of previous studies notes both their contribution and limitations. She carefully defines her terms, including the evolving definition of *feminism* and the role it played in the women’s movement (7-9). Antipolygamists “embodied a challenge to the concept of male supremacy, and advanced the moral authority of woman in the home. It opposed the implicit double sexual standard advanced by polygamy by calling for a single standard of purity for men and women” (9). Mormon women suffragists, for their part, did not challenge male supremacy but “sincerely espoused the cause of women’s rights within the context of their own religion, marital system, and experience” (52). Iversen thus positions her study as “part of the larger struggle in the post-Civil War period for the meaning and direction of the ideal family for the nation” (10).

She also unravels with uncommon intelligence the complicated motivations underlying various statements about polygamy. “It is important to distinguish between the rhetoric and reality of Mormon women’s lives in plural marriage,” she reminds the reader. The “stridency of the antipoly-

gamy crusade" forced Mormon critics of plural marriage to choose "silence or rejection of the 'the church itself'" while "even Mormon women who stoutly defended polygamy left records of ambivalent (albeit private misgivings)". Women like Zina D. H. Young "gain[ed] status within the community" by "becoming a vocal defender of the principle," but "such choices cannot be regarded as feminist autonomy" (73-74).

Utah women were granted suffrage in 1870 by the territorial legislature, the goal of both the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) and the American Woman's Suffrage Association (AWSA). Both opposed polygamy. However, the NWSA publicly welcomed Mormon women, while the AWSA did not, a major element in the schism between the two groups.

Iversen clearly demonstrates that the antipolygamy crusade of 1872-87 was an integral part of the women's movement, born from the confluence of Christian middle-class women and the Republican moral reform movement, intact from its abolition of slavery. To these already potent strands was added a new element in the 1870s—Utah women like Fanny Stenhouse and Ann Eliza Webb Young who wrote influential books and lectured nationally, intensifying the longstanding hostility toward polygamy. The organization of the Salt Lake Ladies Antipolygamy Society in 1878 let Utah women focus their opposition and provided an "impetus for a national woman's antipolygamy crusade" that was "carried out by numerous, uncoordinated forces" (116) including temperance associations and Christian home mission societies (particularly Methodist and Presbyterian). National antipolygamy "discourse," one of the most engaging chapters, analyzes how the political/religious rhetoric combined with more than fifty sensationalized volumes of antipolygamy fiction to place polygamy high on the national agenda. In this chapter, Iversen carries the reader deep within the complex concepts of gender and class "shaped over years around the structure and function of the middle-class family and the role of woman and power relations within it" (134).

National suffrage leaders steadfastly defended Utah women's suffrage, but votes for women became the target of the crusade during the 1880-96 period. Some Utah antipolygamy leaders supported the repeal of suffrage. In 1882, the Edmunds Act disfranchised all polygamists while the Edmunds-Tucker Act (1887) disfranchised all Utah women. This strong federal action eclipsed the "outraged womanhood" identity of the Salt Lake City Ladies Anti-Polygamy Society, and it disbanded in 1887. The NWSA's support for Mormon women waned as it became more antipolygamist; it merged with the AWSA in February 1890. The antipolygamy battle, though not the suffrage battle, seemed won in September 1890 when the Woodruff Manifesto "publicly capitulated to the antipolygamy forces" (115).

Iversen next traces the reenergizing of antipolygamy crusade when

polygamist Seventy B. H. Roberts was elected to Congress in 1898. Conducted largely from Protestant pulpits, it resulted in Roberts's never being seated. This "newly aroused antipolygamy movement stayed mobilized" (201) and was in place when Mormon apostle Reed Smoot was elected U.S. Senator in January 1903. Smoot ultimately retained his seat, but hearings from March 1904 to February 1907 with accompanying public clamor and outrage forced the LDS Church to finally and officially abandon polygamy. The antipolygamy crusade, headed by Utah resident Corinne T. Allen, launched a forceful but ultimately fizzling effort to pass an antipolygamy amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Iversen's book is the first study examining Allen's role in this fifteen-year afterclap.

Two particularly interesting chapters close Iversen's study. First, she looks at "the masculine backlash" of 1903-12 in which Theodore Roosevelt, while praising the "purity" of the American home, took a position against birth control as "race suicide" that was "an implied criticism of the activism of club women," redefined "male virility [as] a noble and patriotic act," and undermined women's "moral authority" by warning that "hysterical sensationalism is the very poorest weapon wherewith to fight for lasting righteousness" (224-25).

She also analyzes how "modern" feminism replaced the women's movement during the 1910-25 period. Despite a flurry of "magazine muckraking" in 1911, changing social conditions simply stranded antipolygamy as irrelevant. Antipolygamy was rooted in the moral superiority and sexual purity of women; the early twentieth century asserted an "acceptance of female sexuality" and the rise of a more equal "companionate marriage" (254-55). Tellingly, Iversen concludes: "Today, echoes of the evangelical antipolygamy campaign, to define monogamy as the nation's only form of marriage, reverberate in the legislative attempts to define marriage as a solely heterosexual union. The debate on the American home has new adversaries, and revolves around new issues—but continues" (256).

Thanks to the comprehensiveness of Iversen's research, the narrative is both accessible and exciting: strongly organized, vividly illustrated with telling vignettes and quotations, and insightfully analyzed for meaning and connections with larger currents of nineteenth-century thought. Furthermore, despite my dislike for the visual presentation of the endnotes and bibliography, they are a treasure trove, an essential guide to archival depositories and to existing publications.

I unequivocally recommend the *Antipolygamy Controversy in U.S. Women's Movement 1880-1925* to scholars and novices who wish they knew more about polygamy, the antipolygamy movement, and the women's movement of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

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Dan Vogel, comp. and ed. *Early Mormon Documents, Vol. 1*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996. xvi + 708 pp. Illustrations, notes, maps, bibliography, index. \$34.95. ISBN 1-56085-072-8

Reviewed by Ross Geddes

How many "primary" documents exist relating to Mormon origins in Vermont, New Hampshire, New York and Pennsylvania? According to Dan Vogel, at least 450, and even that number is incomplete. This first volume of *Early Mormon Documents* contains fifty-seven documents produced by the Joseph Smith family or others claiming to report their sentiments, and another twenty on the Smith family in Vermont and New Hampshire between 1796 and 1816. Although Vogel refers in his copious notes to many of the documents which will appear in later volumes, a complete list of all documents in the series would have been a useful addition to the first volume.

Some of his offerings are genuinely obscure. I suspect Peter Bauder's account of an interview with Joseph Smith in October 1830 (16-18) may not have been published since 1834. The letters from Lucy Smith to her brother Solomon Mack, Jr. (214-17) and from Jesse Smith to his nephew Hyrum Smith (551-54) are also, to my knowledge, not readily accessible. Vogel has cast his net wide, deciding to include any document from friend or foe that may shed light on Mormon origins, and excluding only those proven or suspected to be later forgeries and the Hurlbut-Howe affidavits on the Spaulding manuscript.

But, as Vogel himself warns, "not all historical documents are created equal" (xiv). I would question, for example, the value of an anonymous newspaper account (48-51) published in 1876 reporting a sermon by Sidney Rigdon forty years earlier in which he gives a garbled account of Joseph Smith finding the gold plates; can it seriously be considered a Joseph Smith document? Another dubious entrant is Barnes Frisbie's lengthy account of the "Wood Scrape" in Middletown, Vermont ca. 1800-02 (599-621). While interesting, its connection to Mormon origins is speculative and extremely tenuous. On a different level, William Smith, the Prophet's younger brother, is rightly included, but since he admits that in his youth he "knew

nothing about [the gospel] . . . paying no attention to religion of any kind" (499, 496), his accounts of this period may not be as reliable as those of his brother or mother.

Those who have read Dean C. Jessee's editions—*The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1984) and *The Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989, 1992)—will already be familiar with many of the Joseph Smith documents in this collection, including the different accounts of his early visions. These and other documents (together with Vogel's editorial comments) may prompt some questioning of traditional details, such as the chronology of Smith's visionary experiences or the place where the Church was organised. Historical documents, however, do not speak for themselves. They must be interpreted. For one thing, they are written by human beings who may be mistaken or forgetful or dishonest, but are certainly fallible. Documents are at best only part of the story, for no document can record everything that happened, and many events are not recorded at all. It is unrealistic to expect anyone, prophets included, to have photographic memories. Discrepancies are not necessarily sinister. Instead they should be regarded as invitations to greater understanding of the past and the people who lived there.

The longest document in Vogel's compilation is Lucy Mack Smith's History, which occupies almost one-third of the book (227-450). Vogel includes both the 1845 manuscript and 1853 first edition in parallel columns up to January 1831 when Lucy left Fayette for Kirtland. This is truly a contribution, for passages such as the following description of Lucy's feelings in early 1830 were left out of the printed edition:

my Soul swelled with joy that could scarcely [be] heightened except by the reflection that the record which had cost so much labor and suffering and anxiety were now in reality lying beneath my own head that the identicle work had not only been the object which we as a family had pursued so eagerly but that Prophets of ancient days and angels even the Gr[e]at God had had his eye upon it. and said I to myself Shall I fear what man can do[,] will not the angels watch over the precious relict of the worthy dead and the hope of the living[,] and am I indeed the mother of a prophet of the God of Heaven—the honored instrument in performing so great a work . . . (406; some editorial symbols deleted)

As is inevitable in any first edition, there are some minor mistakes. "Foundation of living waters" (194) should be "fountain of living waters" according to the *Journal of Discourses* version of John Taylor's 1879 sermon. Emma Smith was baptised on 28 June 1830 (539), not 1829 (529). Solomon Humphrey's missionary companion was Joseph (not John) H. Wakefield (571). Vogel says Joseph and Emma's twins were unnamed (575 note 3), but the family record from the Joseph Smith Family Bible (583) gives their

names as Thadeus and Louisa. Asael Smith was Lucy Mack's father-in-law, not "faith-in-law" (631). I have one other quibble. This work is obviously intended for the serious researcher of Mormon history, who deserves a book that will stand up to frequent usage, but I fear the binding may be too flimsy for such a hefty volume.

In making this compilation, Vogel's objective is to "not only facilitate but accelerate the scholarly examination of Mormon origins" (xi). He should achieve his aim since this series will assemble a smorgasbord of sources and allow for easier comparison and study. If the first volume is any indication, *Early Mormon Documents* should become a standard reference for anyone with a serious historical interest in this period.

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Donna Toland Smart, ed. *Mormon Midwife: The 1846-1888 Diaries of Patty Bartlett Sessions*. Logan: Utah State University Press, 1997. 457 pp. Photographs, illustrations, notes, bibliography, appendices, and index. Paper: \$19.95. ISBN 0-87421-274-X; cloth: \$29.95, ISBN 0-87421-227-8

Reviewed by Violet T. Kimball

Brava, Donna Toland Smart, for a superior editing of the diaries of Patty Bartlett Sessions! This book is Volume 2 in a series, *Life Writings of Frontier Women* edited by Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, who provided the foreword to this volume. Beecher introduces interesting parallels between Patty and another Maine midwife whom Laurel Thatcher Ulrich uncovered for her Pulitzer prizewinning book: *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard*.

Patty was born in 1795, married David Sessions in 1812, and gave birth to eight children, only three of whom survived to adulthood. They joined the Church in 1834 and "gathered" to Missouri in 1837, only to be forced out a few months later. Eventually they arrived in Nauvoo. Patty began to keep a diary a few days before leaving Nauvoo in February 1846.

As a new student of Mormon history, I find many women's diaries part joy and part frustration, as so little is said to illuminate their personalities or their marital and domestic problems. Fortunately, Patty Session's diaries

reveal a great deal, and are the most candid and refreshing of any of those famous diaries I have read except Hannah Tapfield King's.

Especially frank and poignant are Patty's candid words as she struggled with polygamy during the summer of 1846 as the Saints perched briefly along the Missouri River. The interplay between Patty and the new, young wife, Rosilla, is both fascinating and heart breaking: "August 2 Mr Sessions took Rosilla and ask me to go to the river then took her and waided across the river left me on this side was gone 2 or 3 hours got a few grapes" (60). This added stress probably contributed to Patty's near fatal illness during the rest of the month. She was prayed over by the brethren and nursed by the sisters. Patty worried about her funeral garments and told the brethren to mark the longitude and latitude of her grave "so I could be found when caled for" (61). Fortunately for Zion, Patty survived.

Patty chronicles the economic, social, and church meetings in Winter Quarters with an almost religious fervor. Although she delivered a baby nearly every day, she writes of many spiritual feasts where the sisters blessed, anointed, and healed each other and the sick. Patty continued that rich spiritual tradition until she was in her eighties. Apparently her generation was the last to anoint and bless their sisters. Modern Mormon women will marvel at, and perhaps envy, these early women.

I was already familiar with Patty's trail account. Although there is little literary style in her writing, she is great with details. She announces the miles traveled, the number of buffalo killed, what time they started, whom they saw, who was sick, and the babies she delivered. Mundane details for some, important details to others. Patty was one of many women who drove an ox team to the valley.

Since my research often ends when the pioneers enter the valley, I eagerly read Patty's Utah diaries of 1847-88. Her brief daily comments reveal the bleak reality of how hard she worked to make the desert "blossom." She delivered 3,997 babies and maintained her "domestic concerns" with little help from others, including two husbands, often doing her chores after she had spent the night delivering a baby. She grew vegetables, planted fruit orchards, taught women how to knit, weave, and nurse, prepared many dinners for relatives and visitors, and attended two or three meetings each week. Smart's admiration of Patty is evident in the preface: "A reader may figuratively gasp for air while trying to follow her frenetic pace" (x).

Patty also paved her front entrance, painted, and helped build her house: "April 1848 Friday 21 I helped Mr Sessions lay down a floor the first floor that I could set my foot upon as my own for more than two years" (111). The next day she performed spiritual rites: "Sunday 30. . . I visited sister Snow Mr Sessions and I laid hands on her she was beter" (112). Patty

became "presidentess" of the "Counsel of Health" and took on several other responsibilities, including feeding and clothing Indian women and children. She attended the theater, lectures, and weekly health and church meetings. She took dancing classes in her early sixties and attended grammar school at age sixty-seven. She was not a casual onlooker or passive observer of life but was "anxiously engaged in a good cause" almost every day.

There were a few paradoxes associated with Patty. She referred to her first and second husband as "Mr" yet called Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball by their first names. Patty's diary reveals much of humanity's pettiness as well as its nobility. She occasionally stayed home from meetings to protect the orchards from thieves, since nearly every year, she had fruits and vegetables stolen. Sleep was often secondary to needs of the moment, and no minutes seemed to be wasted. She sold fresh fruit from her orchards, dried fruit from her cellar, seedlings she had grown to young fruit trees, and even peach pits. In 1848, she charged \$4 for a bushel of peaches. (Peaches would have sold for a dollar apiece in California in 1849.) She also sold flour by the barrel, ground from wheat grown on the family farm. She gave away much of her bounty, bartered it for other items, and paid it in as tithing. Patty even charged her son Perrigrine occasionally for fruit. She bought stock in ZCMI when it first opened, and helped support many worthy causes from her dividends. This is how she responded to Brigham Young's financial requests. "Brigham caled for one hundred and twenty five Dollars money. I gave all I had" (344).

I believe she qualifies as Utah's first woman entrepreneur. Patty was an astute business woman. She arrived in the valley with five cents which she found on the trail. By the time of her death, she had built two homes, a big stone barn, and a brick school for her own family and less fortunate neighborhood children. She was very generous to relatives, the church, temple funds, and the Perpetual Emigration Fund.

Patty helped support the plural wives of two husbands as well as her children and grandchildren. By 1888, Patty was very feeble and almost deaf but she could still read and use her hands. Her entries are still about work. The last entry reads: "Friday the 4th I have knit . . . three pair of stockin this week" (394). It was Patty's hands that began to intrigue me the most. She was constantly busy with knitting, making "artificials" (wax fruit), crocheting, making rugs, delivering babies, and blessing the sick. Patty battled hardships and personal sorrow, poverty, loneliness and rejection, but many entries mention her contentment, happiness, health, and peace. She died in December 1892, nearly ninety-eight years old.

Patty reveals much about the early Mormon struggles in Utah; and where she falters, the editor steps in. Smart's voluminous editorial comments and

notes often present more than half a page of material from various sources. I felt a tad annoyed at first to plow through so many notes, but then I would read about how Patty made "artificial" and many other intriguing details, and I would feel gratified. The editing is one of the strengths and one of the weaknesses. While many Utahns will love the additional information, I found it too detailed and tedious much of the time, and sometimes distracting because Smart would include in brackets some information which I prefer to see in notes. Occasionally I wanted to ask: Is this book about Patty Sessions, or for genealogists? But of course, someone less compulsive than I could have just ignored the notes.

Mormon women will love this volume because Patty is both traditional and nontraditional. She can and does take care of herself and most of the family. Mormon historians will be interested in the rich sources of secular, economic, and church history. This book should also appeal to non-Mormons interested in American history and women's studies.

I applaud Smart for the herculean task she undertook to make this a book so inclusive, so readable, so lavishly illustrated, and, with a detailed forty-page index, appendices, and bibliography, so well contextualized. Despite my quibbles about Smart's notes, I also applaud her graceful prose: "Who knows how history may be enriched by exploring the shadows within the allusions [Patty] didn't trust to memory alone?" (225). I don't see Patty as an ordinary woman in extraordinary times; I see her as an extraordinary woman in extraordinary times. If only one book about Mormon women could be read, I would recommend this because I believe Patty is representative of Mormon women. She deserves a bigger place in Utah history, and this book will assure her this honor.

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Norma Baldwin Ricketts. *The Mormon Battalion: U.S. Army of the West, 1846-1848*. Logan: Utah State University Press, 1996. xviii + 375 pp. Map, illustrations, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. Paper: \$22.95, ISBN 0-87421-215-4. Cloth: \$39.95, 0-84721-216-2

Reviewed by M. Guy Bishop

Anyone familiar with Mormon history or Western American history can likely envision the Mormon Battalion, 500 men, a few women, and even some

children, traversing some 1500 miles of the American Southwest to California during the Mexican-American War. Norma Ricketts has crafted a fine, well-researched chronological account of the battalion's trek and its aftermath. Her careful reconstruction of the battalion's roster (Appendix B) will be of immense help to future scholars. It surpasses any attempt at reconstructing a complete list of battalion personnel that I have seen before.

Ricketts provides a day-to-day account of the trek through entries drawn from the extant diaries of the participants. For example, she quotes William Coray on Christmas Day 1846, at Rainbow Valley, Arizona: "The weather was pleasant today. . . . We started [the day's march] at 10 and marched 21 miles by 9 o'clock at night" (105). The battalion reached San Diego on 29 January 1847, "without firing a single shot at the enemy" (131). Their only "engagement" had been the well-known Battle of the Bulls near San Pedro, Arizona on 11 December 1846: "The [wild] bulls charged men, mules and wagons. . . . One bull caught Amos Cox and gored his thigh before tossing him in the air" (94).

Such trials, along with thirst, hunger, and the elements, plagued the battalion all along its march. However, no men were killed in battle. The Mormon Battalion members gained much useful information about the West, its environment, and its native peoples. Interestingly, she also includes an informed discussion of the women who went west with the battalion including, to list a few, Melissa Burton Coray, Emmeline Bigler Hess, Celia M. Hunt, and Mary Emeline Sessions. In all, twenty women were assigned as "laundresses" (four to each company).

As Ricketts notes, the members of the Mormon Battalion were involved in "numerous significant events in western history between 1846 and 1849" (269). They blazed a wagon road to Southern California. After its discharge at Los Angeles on 16 July 1847, several members participated in the discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill in January 1848 (chap. 10), battalion veterans opened the route east over Carson Pass in the Sierra Nevadas, and some returned by that route to serve as gold missionaries.

Their march is indelibly stamped on the minds of many Latter-day Saints to the present day. California's prolific nineteenth-century historian Hubert H. Bancroft wrote of them: "The call of duty [led] these devotees of their religion [to] unhesitatingly" march to California (272).

Ricketts proves most impressive in the depth and detail of her history. She weaves an exciting, stimulating narrative, one which even those long familiar with the battalion's march should enjoy.

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(Logan: Utah State University, 1998) and *A History of Sevier County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1997).

William G. Hartley. *My Best for the Kingdom: History and Biography of John Lowe Butler, Mormon Frontiersman*. Salt Lake City: Aspen Books, 1993. xiii + 511 pp. Photographs, maps, appendix, index. \$24.95. ISBN 1-56236-212-7

Reviewed by Max H Parkin

Mormon history has received much attention recently from factual books and articles prompted by the pioneer sesquicentennial to Gerald Lund's fictionalized version of Mormon history in his ongoing series *The Work and the Glory*. In keeping with this flow of works, William G. Hartley's *My Best for the Kingdom* is a significant volume. It is a dramatic but authentic account of a little-known Mormon figure, John Lowe Butler, who, like a member of the fictionalized Steed family of Lund's popular work, was a participant in many prominent events important in the early Mormon experience.

John Lowe Butler, a religious seeker who had a spiritual awakening in Kentucky, was converted to Mormonism in 1835 with his wife, Caroline Skeen Butler, who bore him twelve children. He soon joined with the mainstream of the Mormon movement in Clay County, Missouri. The 1833 Jackson County persecutions were still fresh in the memories of his fellow Saints, and he went on to experience with them additional conflicts in upper Missouri. He was active in the Gallatin election day battle of 1838 and participated with the "Danites" in Caldwell County. After leaving Missouri during the winter exodus of 1838-39, he helped build Nauvoo, and was called by Joseph Smith to go on three missions. He spent two of them trying to serve the Indians in Iowa, at times nearly starving and in peril of his life. He served as an ordained bodyguard to the Prophet at Nauvoo and was an officer in the Nauvoo Legion. After the martyrdom, he participated in plural marriage as a trusted insider at Nauvoo and took part in two controversial, and often maligned, wilderness expeditions along the upper Missouri River. Finally, he started on his journey to Utah where he settled at Spanish Fork, Utah County, and became one of that community's principal founders.

Hartley began this project as a family history for the descendants of John Lowe Butler. Director of the Family History Research Services Center at BYU, Hartley enlarged the project as he grew increasingly aware of Butler's importance and as his associates at the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Church History at BYU urged him to broaden the audience because

Butler's history "had such importance for LDS history that it merited scholarly treatment" (xi). Thus the initial project grew into a wider historical work and an official Smith Institute undertaking. In telling the larger history, Hartley does not neglect the Butler family story. He gives much information about the family's religious experiences, travels, and sometimes agonizing hardships. He includes capsule histories of Butler's children at the end of the book, but he tells about them and other relatives throughout the book as well, drawing on extensive family archives and oral histories he conducted with living family members.

Hartley was fortunate that Butler wrote a lengthy and reflective autobiography shortly before his death at age fifty-two. This autobiography, written in both a short and a long version and newly transcribed by Hartley, is reproduced in the appendix for insightful reading and for further research. While the autobiography has been available in the archives of the LDS Church, no other author has used it so widely. The form of Hartley's book largely follows the chronology of the autobiography, and he quotes extensively from it, sometimes correcting Butler's slips of memory. Hartley's research, however, goes beyond family sources in telling the Butler story, as his helpful endnotes and extensive bibliography well attest.

On one level, it is a familiar story, and there is a certain delight in renewing acquaintances with well-known characters and dramatic events of Mormon history, including incidents about Joseph Smith. Yet in his narrative, Hartley adds new information to that familiar story. In fact, he enriches several previously obscure or misunderstood aspects of Latter-day Saint history and thereby, as he says, gives some episodes a "new and full historical explanation" (xi).

One important reinterpretation is Hartley's discussion of the Danites' aggressive activities during the Mormon War of 1838. He traces what he sees as the shift from a state of concern to a state of war, after which point the Danites constituted not vigilantes but a military group taking action that, however deplorable, has always been part of war (71-80).

Hartley also devotes over ninety pages to the telling of two troublesome journeys in which Butler and his family participate. But these are important episodes. Hartley focuses on these excursions not only to clear up misunderstandings in LDS history but also to help restore Butler's own reputation, damaged by his participation in them. The first was James Emmett's 1844 expedition through the wilderness of northern Iowa to Fort Vermilion in South Dakota. Emmett had taught Butler the gospel in Kentucky. Because he separated from the main body of the Saints, Emmett, a member of the Council of Fifty, a policy-making body at Nauvoo from which he claimed some authority, would be called by some historians a "renegade" and an "apostate" (453). Problems quickly arose with Emmett's party, so

Brigham Young sent Butler "to help police" the group and to save the faithful "from destruction" under Emmett's command (145). Emmett's transgressions, which were severe, were more in his style of leadership and resistance to Young's authority than in the principles he advanced (206). Hartley is correct in believing that previous historians have examined the expedition with "limited research" and made judgments too "simplistic" to properly understand the excursion and especially Butler's role in it (137). The second misunderstood journey occurred in 1846 when Brigham Young sent George Miller, a capable general bishop at Nauvoo, "to head for the Rockies" in preparation for the epic pioneer journey (212). This expedition also included the Butlers and the former Emmett company. As Miller's party advanced westward along the Platte River, his orders were changed; but instead of returning to the encampment of the Saints along the Missouri River as some expected, Miller detoured his company a hundred miles north to winter at a Ponca Indian village in northern Nebraska. Again, this divergence has been interpreted as rebellion, staining the reputation of the participants. Hartley argues convincingly, however, that the detour actually received the blessing of Brigham Young (215), who intervened somewhat unsuccessfully to clear participants from the judgement of being called "cold apostate Mormons" when they rejoined the main group at Winter Quarters in the spring of 1847 (232). While attempting to take Butler with them, both Miller and Emmett left the Church within the next few years, but Butler never lost confidence in Church leadership (227). Although Butler was not the chief figure in either episode, Hartley's reinterpretation of these events, together with a painstaking reconstruction of their routes (complete with invaluable maps) constitutes a significant revision.

Hartley's detailed and intense study of John Lowe Butler has some lighter moments. Butler belonged to a small cadre of courageous and colorful figures at Nauvoo including Hosea Stout, John D. Lee, Porter Rockwell, and Howard Egan (232). Most served as members of the Nauvoo police force and later became noted frontiersmen. Butler's own police duties at Nauvoo brought him in close contact with Joseph Smith socially as well as professionally. Butler records that he and the Prophet often visited in each other's homes, enjoyed recreation with each other, and "often wrestled together"; Butler, who stood six foot two, claimed that he "sometimes beat" (120). Hartley gives new details about Joseph Smith in Illinois including Butler's hard ride to Monmouth in 1843 to help free Joseph Smith from his Missouri abductors and Butler's assistance in secretly burying the Smith brothers' bodies in the basement of the Nauvoo House after the martyrdom (133).

Yet Butler was "unique as a frontiersman in the annals of LDS history" (292). Unlike the other sometimes violent frontiersmen, Butler became a

bishop in Utah with active ecclesiastical and political ties to Brigham Young. Hartley's past broad research into the development of pioneer Mormon priesthood offices enables him to explain offices little-known today such as "acting bishops," "ward presidents," and "ward patriarchs" (343).

Hartley also illuminates the early development of Spanish Fork which originated from two sometimes contending colonies, its role in the Utah War, its assistance to the handcart victims, and its management of a nearby Church Indian farm. Hartley also provides a rich context for understanding the Mormon Reformation of 1856-57, a Church-sponsored program to purify and revitalize the Saints. One aspect of the Reformation that impacted the Butler household was a resurgence of polygamy. As the local bishop, Butler both preached and practiced polygamy during 1857, adding four new wives that year to his previous marriages. His seven plural wives bore only three children, and three of them either left or divorced him.

Hartley enriches the book with many helpful maps, charts, illustrations, and family photographs to better tell the story. He also locates historical sites with references to modern landmarks.

Butler's autobiography may contain, as the author says, "the best narrative" written by a participant in the "religious firestorm" constituting the Second Great Awakening as it swept over southern Kentucky in the late 1820s (xi). According to the eminent frontier preacher Peter Cartwright, a former resident of Logan County, near John's own Simpson County, the Great Awakening originated in a camp meeting at Cane Ridge, Kentucky, twenty-eight years before Butler's own religious awakening and spread from there to other parts of the state and nation.¹ Unfortunately, Hartley fails to describe that phenomenon or connect it with Joseph Smith's own spiritual awakening in New York. I also found a need for the more frequent use of the year in dates. While each chapter begins with the full date, more frequent reminders would be helpful, particularly when the geography or story-line changes. Despite these minor flaws, this book merits its Mormon History Association "Excellence in Biography" award. It can be read for heritage and reread for substance.

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¹ Peter Cartwright, *Autobiography of Peter Cartwright, the Backwoods Preacher*, edited by W. P. Strickland (New York: Books for Library Press, 1972), 30-31.

he is currently the Young Men's President in the South Cottonwood Eleventh Ward, Salt Lake City, Utah.

David John Buerger. *The Mysteries of Godliness: A History of Temple Worship*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994. ix + 234 pp. Illustrations, notes, tables, appendices, index. \$24.95. 1-56085-042-6

Reviewed by Irene M. Bates

In *The Mysteries of Godliness*, David John Buerger has taken on a daunting challenge. This "history of Mormon temple worship" is likely to be seen by the more conservative Church member as "treading on sacred ground" as Buerger acknowledges (viii), and therefore not to be read by worthy templegoers—which is a pity, for this book is no anti-Mormon interpretive study. Instead, the author's main focus is on "journal and diary entries, autobiographies, and other public sources" most of which were readily available to researchers in the LDS Church Archives during the 1970s and 1980s.¹ There are also some references to published accounts.

Buerger's book is organized chronologically beginning with the first washings, anointings, and sealings in the Kirtland Temple in 1836 and concluding with a quotation from the *Los Angeles Times* (5 May 1990) describing the April 1990 changes in the temple ceremonies. His chapter headings include: "Prelude to the Endowment," "The Kirtland Ceremony," "Joseph Smith's Ritual," "Brigham Young's Revisions," "Developments in Nineteenth-Century Utah," "The Twentieth-Century Temple," and "Conclusion." In a departure from this time-line, an appendix contains first-hand accounts by Heber C. Kimball, William Clayton, John D. Lee, Willard Richards, et al. of the 7, 14, 21, and 28 December 1845 meetings of the Holy Order in Nauvoo, Illinois. Again these accounts are taken from manuscripts housed in the LDS Church Archives or from previously published sources, such as *History of the Church*. A second appendix lists 128 publications that have described the temple ceremony.

There are valuable insights to be gained from reading Buerger's book. First, his chronological organization enables the reader to see quite clearly how temple worship has evolved through the years. Adjustments have

¹ Buerger's research materials have been deposited, with no restrictions on access, in the David J. Buerger Papers, Mss 622, in the Manuscript Division, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City.

included the elimination of an oath to take vengeance on the slayers of Joseph Smith; a toning down of the washing and anointing rituals; revisions of rules governing the wearing of temple garments, and changes in the style of (street) garments; removal of some of the sexist language and content; modifications in sealing procedures; a change in the significance attributed to the "second anointing"; revision of the more graphic language relating to the violent penalties (and the much later removal of the penalties themselves); as well as other more subtle changes. Buerger also notes one radical departure from a claimed biblical precedent. The act of "sealing" in all New Testament references is the prerogative of God, whereas the Book of Mormon tells of Nephi performing sealings (Hel. 10:4-7) and the Restoration allows "sealing unto eternal life" to be performed also by human intermediaries (3-5). During the early nineteenth century, such ceremonies were group sealings and were merely spoken rites (6). Later they focused on the worthy individual and involved the laying on of hands.

A second valuable insight emerging from this book is that, given an awareness of these evolutionary changes in temple worship, a participant's belief system need not necessarily be threatened. Those quite happy with the temple ceremonies, who have no questions, could still be content with the explanation provided by a belief in continuous revelation. Those with personal misgivings about particular aspects of the temple experience need no longer bury them in denial for fear of feeling unfaithful or rebellious. Rather such feelings might simply be acknowledged in the context of hope for possible future change. Certainly, the author's analysis of percentages of temple activity over a fifteen-year period (1971-85), lends itself to the proposition that change must indeed occur. After noting some of members' discomforts about the temple ceremony, such as irrelevance, incongruence with "other important elements of their religious life," or simply boredom, Buerger provides balance by referring to the spiritual enlightenment experienced by others (178-79). Only in Buerger's conclusion does he offer his own suggestions for modifications—all of which make good sense. For example, he points out that "vicarious endowments remain the only portion of the total temple sequence (baptism, confirmation, washing, anointing, ordination, endowment, and sealing) which has not been "batch processed" to increase "efficiency" (179). Buerger suggests that the time required to complete such endowments seems excessive and that they could be dealt with in a few minutes instead of two hours, thus freeing time for worship in a "less mechanical setting" (180).

One thing that Buerger does not offer in his book is evidence, anecdotal or documented, that changes in certain elements of temple worship have come about as a result of grass-roots feedback. For example, the promptings of feminists, while officially deplored, most likely had some impact on the

modification of sexist language and content. The voicing of women's concerns about practicality and hygiene may well have influenced adaptations in street garments. Also the publicized criticism by Church members regarding the exclusion of blacks from temple worship prior to 1978, must have been noted, in addition to those protests from outside sources. However, any such contributions toward change might be difficult to document, and Buerger's sources do not include interviews with anyone involved in current policy-making. It is difficult to imagine that such interviews would be granted.

The Mysteries of Godliness is a book from which all members of the Church could profit, despite the fact that Chapters 3 (parallels between Freemasonry and Mormon temple worship) and 5 (confusion in the nineteenth-century hierarchy about the order of the temple ceremonies [113-15] and concerning the possible conditional nature of the second anointings [122-25]) might prove disquieting to some readers. Yet such historical details need to be known if a participant's faith is to remain on firm ground. Buerger's material has been meticulously researched and he has, for the most part, allowed the primary source material to speak for itself, resisting the temptation to editorialize or sensationalize the information. The organization of the book, too, serves the author and his readers well, as do the charts and other illustrations.

Since so much of this history of temple worship consists of quotations from leaders, past and present, there is little room for comment on Buerger's concise and disciplined prose. In the conclusion, however, his own voice emerges quite clearly and eloquently. Its last two paragraphs are a beautiful and powerful plea that reached the heart of this reader. He suggests "allowing time for meditation, inspiration, and worship. . . . Refocusing attention on the temple's function as a house of prayer and personal revelation might draw more individuals who genuinely wish for a worshipful experience in community and then quietly, alone." Buerger speaks of "providing a holy setting for spiritual healing" (180). For me, reading David Buerger's fine book was, in itself, a healing experience.

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Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1998. vii + 112 pp. Photographs, index. \$18.95. ISBN 1-57008-394-0

Reviewed by Ronald E. Romig

We no longer know what Joseph Smith Jr. looked like. All who personally knew him are now long deceased. Which of the many, if any, currently known images of Joseph most accurately inform us of his appearance during his lifetime?

Joseph Smith Portraits chronicles Ephraim Hatch's long-term efforts to resolve these questions. The resultant book exposes readers to a significant survey of visual and documentary materials pertaining to a topic rather more complex than it might first appear. As such, I recommend this narrative of Hatch's search for the Joseph Smith's likeness to interested readers.

Research on visual materials has been rather resistant to modern historical methodology. Only recently have researchers begun to recognize the importance of applying the tools of historical methodology to this field. Often unrecognized as useful documentary material in and of themselves, visual images continue to be used primarily to illustrate written discourse. Typically, visual materials are captioned and documented with less care than arguments in associated text. As a result, different publications may contain contradictory captions describing the very same visual. This is particularly true of visual images of Joseph Smith in historical literature.

Hatch began his quest for the visual Joseph in 1975, as Church history was beginning to benefit from the application of more rigorous methods of inquiry. He chose an objective approach by first assembling an impressive collection of images of Joseph Smith Jr. and other Smith relatives, including Uncle John Smith and two of Joseph's cousins. In addition, he gathered written descriptions of the various visual representations of Joseph and his family. Little was known previously about the history or accuracy of Joseph's death mask; and Hatch has reconstructed a useful documentary provenance. Much to his credit, Hatch pursued his search beyond the borders of Utah, attempting to reassemble clues from a fragmented religious tradition. Confronted with the need to quantify and evaluate assembled data, Hatch adapted a technique used to compare satellite imagery, endeavoring to augment his own observations with the opinions of specialists in various fields. His ground-breaking approach moved this inquiry in a promising scholarly direction.

In 1989, Hatch introduced his fourteen years of research in the form of a very limited edition self-published book, *Joseph Smith Portraits*. Copies placed at selected scholarly repositories immediately became a useful

reference for researchers interested in this problem. Since then, his observations continue to influence developments in a growing field of interest.

Recognition has long been due for Hatch's significant contributions, and it is well that Hatch's research is finally available for general readers as *Joseph Smith Portraits: A Search for the Prophet's Likeness*. BYU Religious Studies Center should be commended for publishing this work. However, the appearance of this book a decade late tends to promote an impression that it contains new research. Beyond some limited comments on developments in this field in intervening years (63-68), *Joseph Smith Portraits* is essentially a 1980s study.

I have a great respect for Hatch's contributions and admire his devotion to this particular problem. But he may claim more through this book than can be delivered. I offer the following reflections on his work in a spirit of collegial and supportive criticism, while hoping for Hatch's continued involvement in parallel research efforts. Rather than competition, it would be gratifying to see interested researchers working together toward a meaningful resolution of this historical problem.

Hatch provides a narrative of his search for Smith's image that is understandable and even persuasive, inviting readers throughout to adopt his interpretations as their own. Unfortunately, Hatch has produced a book more descriptive of his beliefs about Smith's appearance than about Smith's likeness itself. Hatch's assumptions in constructing his argument are: Using this methodology, it is possible to identify the most reliable primary sources which preserve Smith's appearance in life. And, the best depictions conform the most closely to such primary sources. These are potentially useful observations, especially if supported by the results of an objective methodology. There may be reservations, however, about the objectivity of Hatch's methodology.

First, the reader must realize that despite Hatch's attempt to adopt a useful historical methodology, he takes considerable liberty with it, asking his readers to accept many assumptions that his methodology may not be capable of supporting. Nowhere does he attempt to evaluate the reliability of the various documentary sources he cites. Rather, he apparently accepts each documentary source equally at face value.

Second, despite Hatch's stated desire to discover Joseph Smith, he seems unable to conceive of a prophet who is not perfectly proportioned and physically attractive. For example, Hatch apparently wishes Smith to have broad shoulders, yet two of the descriptions he provides suggest rounded or stooped shoulders while a third account claims, "His chest and shoulders are broad and muscular" (6). According to Hatch's analysis of images of male and female Smiths, most seemed rather long-necked with a tendency toward slight shoulders. Hatch apparently tries to reconcile these disparate

accounts by describing Smith as having a “muscular chest and shoulders, rounded in later years” (9). Given that Smith died relatively young, how much later could Hatch have in mind?

Third, Hatch’s attempt to identify and conform to a stated set of criteria to guide the formulation of research conclusions is commendable, but his criteria are often imprecise. It is difficult to evaluate the accuracy of such observations as: Joseph had an unconscious smile; Joseph’s body was well proportioned, tending to corpulence in later years. Yet these criteria prove central to subsequent analyses.

Hatch encourages his readers to accept Joseph Smith’s death mask as the most reliable source about his appearance. On the strength of comparisons that he reproduces in the book, Hatch affirms there is “consistent alignment of Maudsley’s profiles with the death mask” (40, 45). Hatch’s observation that the profiles coincide nicely appears fundamentally correct.

Unfortunately, offsetting the profiles of the mask and sketches slightly, as Hatch has done, makes them appear more exact than they are. Evident deviations are visible between the presented profiles, i.e.: the slant of the upper forehead, the curve of the lower chin, and the length and pointedness of the nose.

Scaling is potentially a larger problem in Hatch’s comparisons. Knowing exactly how much to enlarge or reduce images for comparison is crucial. Believing that he has found a resolution to this problem, Hatch explains, “In this procedure an aerial photograph of land is enlarged to a size where two points of known distance apart meet the map scale for the known actual distance. When this is done, any other distances in any direction on the aerial map can be scaled accurately” (28). This method may not be as reliable for portrait purposes as for topographical ones. Two images can be compared by aligning two corresponding points, if shot with the same camera and lens, and from the same distance and angle. Controlling the problem of scaling in his comparisons requires an unfailing eye and superior hand coordination, the creation of carefully scaled photographs from originals of Maudsley’s sketch and the death mask, plus the ability to factor in an unknowable percentage that compensates for the cumulative shrinkage that has occurred in various generations of death mask molds and casts. Hatch’s dependence on personal judgement (and adjustments) to effect the proper placement of the death mask image used in these comparisons calls into question the objectivity of his methodology. His placement of images for comparison and resultant observations depend more on approximation than some repeatable objective methodology.

Another problem involves Hatch’s logic. Employing a circular argument, Hatch concludes that consistency between the Maudsley and death mask profiles confirms the accuracy of the front view of the death mask. Because

of the limitations of his methodology, the evidence he presents does little to support or disprove this assertion. Likewise, Hatch's impressions about how various other Smith images compare to the death mask are useful in a general way but, again, are little more than informed subjective opinion. Furthermore, Hatch dismissed research that was available at the time of this publication. Shannon Tracy provides a persuasive argument that Joseph's and Hyrum's skulls were misidentified when they were reinterred in 1928.¹ Hatch seems unwilling to give Tracy's case appropriate consideration.

In conclusion, Hatch's method for conducting his comparisons relies finally on little more objectivity than his own, albeit experienced, eye. Despite overstepping the limitations of his methodology, Hatch has moved this inquiry forward with some useful understandings, among them these: (1) Problems of this nature necessitate a movement-wide survey of sources; (2) Scholars need a reliable death mask provenance; (3) Maudsley's sketches and death mask profiles are similar; (4) Incongruence exists in the distance between the upper lip and nose between the death mask and the RLDS front-view oil portrait; and (5) The Carson/Carter photographs are better understood as variations of the front-view oil portrait of Joseph Smith rather than photographs from life.

Yet other conclusions are a stretch. For example, while the death mask obviously preserves valuable visual clues about Joseph's appearance, Hatch's methodology fails to support his belief that the front view of the death mask reliably depicts Joseph's appearance in life. As previously noted, Maudsley's depiction of Smith's nose is more pointed than that of the death mask, suggesting the very real possibility that the nose on the mask was foreshortened during its manufacture by the weight of the plaster. Hatch also ignores or minimizes potential problems with the mask. The earliest images of the death mask show that it appears to have been cracked across the chin area. (See Fig. 4.3, p. 19.) Subsequent repairs may have potentially altered the appearance of Smith's original chin shape, length, and width in significant ways.

During the 1990s, other researchers have joined in this quest, desiring to shed further light on this interesting question. Technology continues to evolve new possibilities for informing the process of comparing visual images. Computer technologies offer help with the problem of scaling by converting measurable relationships between facial points into comparable ratios. Images need not be the same size or shot from the same angle to ensure accurate comparison.

¹ Shannon, Tracy, *In Search of Joseph* (Orem, Utah: Kenning House, 1995), 68.

Hatch's wish to receive due credit for his life's work is understandable. His desire to reproduce the maximum possible of the varied and interesting images collected in his research may be commendable. But his tendency to promulgate his beliefs about the appearance of Joseph Smith through this book is unfortunate. In the end, citing Emma Smith, saying Joseph's "countenance was changing all the time," Hatch seems unsure of his own thesis and concludes, "We may never know the Prophet's likeness, till we meet him face to face" (109).

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M. Guy Bishop. *Henry William Bigler: Soldier, Gold Miner, Missionary, Chronicler, 1815-1900*. Logan: Utah State University Press, 1998. xiv + 208 pp. Notes, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$19.95. ISBN 0-87421-254-5

Reviewed by David L. Bigler

"Monday 24th this day some kind of mettle was found in the tail race that that [sic] looks like goald, first discovered by James Martial, the Boss of the Mill."

Copies of these handwritten lines were displayed in libraries and museums throughout California as the state celebrated the gold rush sesquicentennial in 1999. The original diary page is among the most prized possessions of the Society of California Pioneers. For these words settle years of controversy over the date gold was discovered in 1848 and who first found it. The person who wrote them is often described as a common man (whatever that is), an obedient foot soldier of his faith whose only claim to notice today is that he happened to be in the right place at the right time. Yet wealth and fame are transitory, while the written word goes on forever. And through the word, Henry William Bigler wrote his name everlastingly on the history of California and the West. He has long deserved the splendid biography M. Guy Bishop has now given us.

Bigler's uncommon gifts as an observer and journalist first appeared in 1846 when he joined the Mormon Battalion and began to keep a diary of events so decisive they continue to shape the lives of Americans today. As a soldier in General Stephen W. Kearny's Army of the West, he marched some two thousand miles during the War with Mexico to claim California

for the United States. Afterward, while working at Sutter's Mill, he was an eyewitness to the discovery of gold on the American River's South Fork.

These momentous events he recorded with a sure eye for the details future historians would consider vital. If his spelling reveals a limited education, his writing is vivid and descriptive. Above all, it demonstrates the honesty that stands out as his most notable virtue. Mythmakers, including several battalion veterans, would later claim shares of the glory. Henry Bigler never did. One can only regret he did not keep a journal during the Nauvoo period.

Matching this virtue is the honesty Guy Bishop brings to his treatment of Bigler's life. An early sign of Bishop's intent to treat his subject objectively is that he never refers to Bigler by first name only, an unfortunate practice common in faith-promoting biographies. The author's integrity is further confirmed by his balanced look at the sources of conflict between Mormons and their neighbors in Missouri and Illinois. "Mormon millennial expectations, while devout, were no doubt indiscreet in anticipating the possession of the whole of Missouri at the Second Coming," he understates (9-10). He also sees that citizens of western Illinois viewed the rising Mormon theocracy at Nauvoo as a "genuine threat to democracy" and opposed it for this reason (22). Bishop seldom loses his sense of historical balance. One exception is his suggestion that the Buchanan Administration had a "taste for extermination," which goes too far (116). He also cites Brigham Young's support of the Constitution as evidence of Mormon loyalty to the United States (122). Young revered the nation's charter, not as an end in itself, represented by the American republic, but as a divinely placed stepping stone to a higher form of rule—the kingdom of God. His loyalty was always to the latter.

In 1837 at twenty-two, Bigler joined the LDS Church and never looked back. At Nauvoo he went on the first of the missions that would claim a large part of his life. Such calls caused deep agony of soul when he had to leave loved ones without knowing if he would see them again. But obedience to Church authorities was the star he steered by, no matter what the cost.

So it was in 1846 when Brigham Young called for five hundred Mormon volunteers to serve in the Mexican War. Like many others, Bigler swallowed his resentment at the U.S. government's failure to protect his religious freedom and pronounced himself "willing to obey counsel believing all things would work for the best in the end" (31). His battalion journal is among the best of the many written by members of the command.

Mustered out, the 130-pound Virginian and most of the veterans headed east in 1847 to find their families. But at present Truckee, they met orders from Brigham Young for unmarried men to work a year in California before

coming to Salt Lake Valley. Still a bachelor at thirty-two, Bigler sadly returned to Sutter's Fort where John Augustus Sutter and his morose partner, James Marshall, hired him to build a sawmill at Coloma, some thirty miles east of Sacramento. The rest is history.

Over forty years later, Bigler returned Sutter's favor by completing in the St. George Temple the work he believed necessary to insure the Swiss entrepreneur's eternal reward.

In the meantime, no sooner had he finally turned his back on the gold fields and rejoined his father's family at Salt Lake than he was called on a "gold mission" for John Smith, soon to become Church patriarch. Certain leaders were allowed to outfit loyal members to mine gold for them on shares, while the faithful at large were told to deny the temptation to seek the precious metal.

At this call, Bigler's "feelings were spent in a complete shower of tears" (68). But he wiped his cheeks and went. In going he wrote an invaluable account of an 1849 journey to California over the southern trail. A year later he was saved from the unrewarding labor of gold mining when he joined the first Mormon missionaries, including George Q. Cannon, in opening the Sandwich Islands Mission.

Not until age forty did Henry Bigler have time to find a wife; only days after their first child was blessed, he ran into Brigham Young who told him to prepare to go back to Hawaii. His life was like that. "Sacrifice, labor, and obedience to ecclesiastical authority were the cornerstones of Henry Bigler's religion—and his religion was his life," Bishop says (116).

Bigler spent his last years at St. George where he worked in the temple and added to his voluminous writings, which Bishop has usefully documented in three major archives in two states. There he remarried after his first wife's death, but he never took more than one wife at a time. Otherwise, he obeyed his faith's tenets, even to blessing his sons to "avenge the blood of the prophets" (118).

On the whole this book has been worth waiting for, and it is gratifying to know that it was honored with a Certificate of Commendation from the American Association for State and Local History. Bishop has produced a well-written life story of a most uncommon man and given us, as well, a valuable source of information about the history and evolving theology of Mormonism.

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of *Forgotten Kingdom: The Mormon Theocracy in the American West, 1847-1896* (Spokane, Wash.: Arthur H. Clark, 1998; paperback: Logan: Utah State University, 1998), and co-editor with Will Bagley of *Army of Israel: Mormon Battalion Narratives*, forthcoming in the Arthur H. Clark Kingdom in the West Series.

Raymundo Gómez González and Sergio Pagaza Castillo. "*El Aguila Mormón o el Anarquista Cristiano*": Plotino Constantino Rhodakanaty el Primer Miembro de la Iglesia de Jesucristo de los Santos de los Últimos Días en México. México, D.F.: Museo de Historia del Mormonismo en México, 1997. 190 pp. Notes, works cited, bibliography, three appendices. Copies available for \$20.00 (U.S.) Museo de Historia del Mormonismo en México, Avenida 510 No. 79, Colonia Unidad San Juan de Aragón Primera Sección, C.P. 97920 México, D.F.; <museo2@compuserve.com>; telephone: 771-00-72

Reviewed by Thomas W. Murphy

With the publication of its first book, the Museum of Mormon History in Mexico is helping to initiate an era in which international Mormon history is produced and published in local languages by local people. Fernando R. Gómez Páez, president of the museum, and Raymundo Gómez González, director of the museum, coauthor of this book, and an engineer, founded this independent museum to house the historical materials gathered by their aunt, Conseulo Gómez González, an influential early convert to Mormonism in Mexico. The publication of an intellectual biography of Plotino Constantino Rhodakanaty, the first member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Central Mexico, marks the expansion of their efforts from simple historical preservation to the production of local Mormon history.

The title, "*Mormon Eagle or Christian Anarchist*": Plotino Constantino Rhodakanaty, the First Member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Mexico, juxtaposes Rhodakanaty's prominent place in Mormon history with his significant role in Mexico intellectual history. Both authors are active Latter-day Saints. Sergio Pagaza Castillo, Gómez's coauthor, is an attorney.

Gómez and Pagaza describe their intentions in the publication of this book as an effort to introduce members of the Church to the thought and personality of the "Mormon Eagle," the first ordained elder and the first branch president in 1879 in Mexico. (Rhodakanaty had an active study group whose members were identifying themselves as Mormons prior to baptism.) The authors clearly have a Mormon audience in mind and

generally succeed in those stated intentions. Mormon historians may also find the book appealing for its impressive portrayal of the intellectual currents influential in Rhodakanaty's attraction to the LDS Church and his decision to encourage Church leaders to send the first LDS missionaries to Mexico City in 1879.

The book's seven chapters include a short biography, description of sources of Rhodakanaty's thought, his theological and political ideas, his involvement with transcendental philosophy, social philosophy, anarchism, agrarian movements, and socialism. The authors meticulously provide citations for all primary and secondary sources. In appendices they include photocopied reproductions of the entry in Elder Moses Thatcher's diary narrating Rhodakanaty's baptism in 1879, correspondence between Seventy Horacio A. Tenorio, a recent member of the South America South Area presidency, and the LDS Historical Department establishing the baptism of the first Mexican citizen, Sabino Hierro, in Salt Lake City in 1852, and a photocopy of the cover page of the first Spanish translation of Parley P. Pratt's *A Voice of Warning* in 1880, a document which lists Rhodakanaty as one of the translators.

Born in 1828 in Athens to an Austrian mother and a Greek father, Rhodakanaty was highly educated. He studied medicine in Vienna and Berlin and the political philosophy of Charles Fourier in Paris. He migrated to Mexico in 1861 with aspirations of forming socialist agrarian communities. Although his utopian dreams never fully materialized, Rhodakanaty played a crucial pioneering role in socialist, syndicalist, and anarchist movements in Mexico before disappearing somewhat mysteriously from the historical record in 1886.

The most intriguing argument of the book for anyone interested in Mexican intellectual history is the authors' claim that if one wants to understand the philosophy of Rhodakanaty one must examine his ties with the LDS Church. In support of this argument the authors cite a sonnet published in 1876 and entitled "Plotino C. Rhodakanaty, Greco-socialista" and signed "E. G. Aguila Mormón." Additionally, they point to various parallels between Rhodakanaty's philosophy and the LDS gospel. For example, Rhodakanaty advocated the perfectibility of humanity, an idea similar to the Mormon concept of eternal progression and eventual godhood. Unfortunately, they assume that Rhodakanaty had access to such aspects of LDS theology without actually demonstrating that he did. This evidence is especially necessary because they date Rhodakanaty's public identification as the "Mormon Eagle" to 1876, three years prior to the arrival on 14 November 1879 of Elders Moses Thatcher, James Z. Stewart, and Melitón Trejo in Mexico City and Rhodakanaty's baptism six days later. There is evidence that Rhodakanaty had received one of the two Book of Mormon pamphlets that

Elder Daniel Jones mailed out in 1876, a time which corresponds with Rhodakanaty's assumption of a Mormon identity. The LDS concept of eternal progression, however, does not appear in the Book of Mormon. Furthermore, F. LaMond Tullis and Gordon Irving previously dated Rhodakanaty's correspondence with Trejo to early 1878 and with President John Taylor to the autumn of 1878.¹ The authors' evidence is intriguing but probably not yet strong enough to convince many Mexican historians of the importance of LDS sources in Rhodakanaty's thought. Clearly, this is an area which warrants further investigation because of Rhodakanaty's influential role in early socialist and anarchist movements in Mexico.

One missing component of this book should catch the attention of Mormon historians. While earlier histories by Gordon Irving and F. LaMond Tullis both stated that Rhodakanaty published a series of articles critical of the Church in Mexico City's socialist newspapers after his disillusionment with Church leaders in 1881, Gómez and Pagaza found no evidence of such published critiques.² This lack of evidence may result from their inability to locate missing copies of Rhodakanaty's periodical *La Social*. Nonetheless, they have raised doubts about whether anti-Mormon activity can be accurately attributed to Rhodakanaty.

The greatest portion of the book does not focus on Mormon history per se. The book's strength is as an intellectual history of Rhodakanaty's thought, its sources and its future. In particular they point to the strong impact of Charles Fourier's ideas about socialism and anarchism on Rhodakanaty's thought. They trace Rhodakanaty's involvement in socialist organizations and publications, the election of the first women delegates to the Worker Congress he founded, and his efforts to establish ties with peasants in the Chalco district of the state of Mexico where LDS missionaries would have some of their earliest successes in central Mexico. They contend that Rhodakanaty predated and helped paved the way for subsequent social movements ranging from the Mexican revolution to women's liberation.

For Mormon historians, the book can provide a portrait the intellectual currents with which early Mormonism in Mexico meshed and the people to whom its possibilities appealed. It makes me wonder how much Rhodakanaty's interest and following in the Chalco region of the state of Mexico

¹ Gordon Irving, "An Opening Wedge: LDS Proselyting in Mexico, 1870-1890," Andrew Jensen Lecture, 4 June 1976, 10, LDS Church Historical Department, Salt Lake City; F. LaMond Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1987), 34-35, 48-49.

² Irving, "An Opening Wedge," 12-14; Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico*, 38-39.

influenced subsequent Mormon attention to and success in Amecameca and Ozumba.³ Rhodakanaty's fascination with Mormonism soured in 1881 after his attempts to create utopian agrarian colonies failed to keep the interest of LDS missionaries. Perhaps it is more than coincidence that another group of Mexicans with utopian aspirations would realize Rhodakanaty's dreams of forming an agrarian colony very near the proposed site of his socialist school in Amecameca. Unfortunately Gómez and Pagaza do not suggest any ties between Rhodakanaty's philosophy and those Mexican Americans who, under the leadership of Margarito Bautista and Lorenzo Cuahtli, who would break with the LDS Church in 1935 as part of the Third Convention and eventually form a Mormon utopian community in Ozumba in 1948.⁴ What they do provide, however, is clear evidence of the impact and appeal of Rhodakanaty's ideas on revolutionary ambitions in the Chalco region and throughout Mexico. They also demonstrate that Mormonism initially appealed to those Mexicans who desired to create socialist utopias in this world rather than in one to come. That numerous Mexicans, Mormon and non-Mormon alike, would fight and die in subsequent efforts to realize Rhodakanaty's dreams is a testament to the power of the message that the first convert in central Mexico saw in Mormonism. The current interest of LDS authors in Rhodakanaty's philosophy may suggest that the revolutionary attraction of Mormonism is still alive and well in Mexico today as suggested by their esteem for Rhodakanaty:

Rhodakanaty spread his doctrine among the popular classes in Mexico City; but always he had in mind an "agrarian colony." Probably for this reason, he sought contact with the countryside, which he established in the District of Chalco. There besides spreading his social philosophy, he sincerely desired to put it into practice. *Rhodakanaty is something like a Redeemer, a Christian socialist—as he sometimes called himself*—who worked to teach the people and lead them toward emancipation. He did not search for human justice and happiness in an unknown

³ Jean-Pierre Bastian, a specialist on religious minorities in Mexico, tied the growth of non-Catholic religions and revolutionary ideologies in the Chalco region directly to Rhodakanaty's strong ties with evangelical societies in the area. See his "Heterodoxia religiosa y cambio social. El impacto regional de las sociedades religiosas no católicas en México," in *La Política y el Cielo: Movimientos Religiosos en México Contemporáneo*, edited by Rodolfo Moran Quiroz (Guadalajara, Mex.: Editorial Universidad de Guadalajara, 1990), 23-42.

⁴ See Thomas W. Murphy, "Fifty Years of United Order in Mexico," *Sunstone* 20, no. 3 (October 1997), 69; Thomas W. Murphy, "'Stronger Than Ever': Remnants of the Third Convention," *Journal of Latter Day Saint History* 10 (1998): 1, 8-11; Thomas W. Murphy, "From Racist Stereotype to Ethnic Identity: Instrumental Uses of Mormon Racial Theology," *Ethnohistory* 46, no. 3 (Summer 1999).

place outside of this world, but sought it in this world, for him paradise awaited, to be built only with human hands. To teach and guide the subjugated classes toward self-emancipation—this was his work, in spite of the fact that it placed his personal security at risk. (135; translation mine; emphasis their's)

Undoubtedly, this first publication of the Museum of Mormon History in Mexico is a valuable contribution to Mormon and Mexican history. It should be read by anyone interested in the international history of Mormonism or Mexican intellectual history. We may hope that this pioneering effort heralds an increasing number of locally produced histories contributing to a greater understanding of the varying international climates in which Mormonism takes hold and expands.

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Ken Verdoia and Richard Firmage. *Utah: The Struggle for Statehood*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1996. 205 pp. Photographs, chronology (1846-96), index. \$34.95. ISBN 9-780874-805062

Reviewed by Brigham D. Madsen

In this visually attractive book, the authors present a history of Utah from Chapter 1, "Beginnings (1845-1850)" through another seven chapters to "Accommodation (1890-1896)." "Conceived at first as a companion volume" to the KUED public-television documentary, *Utah: The Struggle for Statehood*, "the book soon took on a life of its own . . . to emerge as an illustrated history of Utah's fifty-year path to the forty-fifth star" (12). The more than 400 photographs in this large volume (9x12 inches) add a great deal of interest to the text as the authors describe and analyze the well-known incidents, subjects, and controversies which dominated the history of Utah Territory.

A large number of information boxes sprinkled through the book highlight such diverse topics of special interest as the Stansbury Expedition, the Mountain Meadows Massacre, woman suffrage, Salt Lake City newspaper wars, and of course Brigham Young. In addition, there are several maps of early Utah and, occasionally, reproductions of significant documents like the 5 August 1853 "Proclamation by the Governor" warning the citizens of the approach of Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston's army, sent by President James Buchanan "to accomplish our destruction" (63), in the words of

Governor Young. A six-page epilogue (183-88) describes the celebration mounted to recognize Utah's statehood. Finally, the authors have added an 1846-96 chronology (189-97) to help emphasize the important events in Utah history.

I agree with the book jacket's characterization of the "lively narrative" produced by the authors. In describing the Mountain Meadows Massacre, the writers conclude that "the wrong people were in the wrong place at the wrong time—and the wrong thing happened" (64). To many a frustrated student of history trying to understand this complex subject, perhaps that conclusion is as good as any other. In another information box, we learn: "Newspapers in the territory during the 1880s captured the fervor, passions, and biases of frontier journalism at both its best and worst. It was not unusual for an editor to be followed home after publishing a particularly scathing article and be physically attacked by some of those unable to see his logic" (135). Historians may also recognize such perils.

As might be expected, a book of such complexity and coverage does contain a few flaws. For instance, the authors say the Northwestern Shoshoni who survived the Bear River massacre followed "tribal chief Washakie" (84) to a reservation in present-day Wyoming. Washakie headed the *Eastern* Shoshoni who ranged north of Fort Bridger. Many of the Northwestern Shoshoni finally settled on the Fort Hall Reservation near Pocatello, Idaho. In another unfortunate error, the text mistakenly states in three separate places that the Central Pacific and Union Pacific railroads were joined in 1869 at Promontory Point (95, 97, 98) instead of at Promontory Summit, thirty miles north.

The major contribution of the book is the selection of photographs to accompany the text. For the fourth-grade teacher attempting to add interest to her or his presentation of Utah history, these illustrations will be a welcome addition to the usual informative written stories. I suspect that general readers will also find themselves spending more time with the photographs than with the narrative.

Unfortunately, a number of photographs are misdated. A photograph of Echo Canyon (62) is dated "c. 1858" when it should be about 1875; the "Salt Lake City panorama" (70) should be c. 1874 instead of "c. 1860"; the photograph of the City and County Building could not be dated at "1894"; it was finished that year yet the photograph shows it surrounded by trees that have obviously been growing for some time. Finally, the Pioneer Day parade in Salt Lake City cannot plausibly be dated "1872" since the buildings and other features must date from the turn of the century or later. Proofreading by a specialist in Utah photographs would have eliminated these pesky errors which reduce the work's reference value. (My thanks to the LDS

History Department staff for their assistance in tracking down correct dates.)

The book would also be more valuable as a reference if it included a more extensive bibliography rather than the thirty-six items listed (199-200). Works by such eminent authors as Dale L. Morgan and others could have been very informative for teachers and their students seeking to go beyond the usual basic facts of Utah history.

Despite these limitations, *Utah: The Struggle for Statehood* is a remarkable book, full of wonderful photographs and very interesting descriptions of out-of-the-ordinary incidents and characters in the history of our state as well as a thorough coverage of Utah's development during the territorial period. General readers and teachers alike will find much to enthrall and enlighten.

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R. Lanier Britsch. *From the East: The History of the Latter-day Saints in Asia, 1851-1996*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1998. xvi + 631 pp. Photographs, maps, appendices, index. \$29.95. ISBN 1-57345-268-9

Reviewed by Susan Easton Black

For twenty-six years, Lanier Britsch refined preliminary drafts of *From the East*. "Had I known in 1972 that the book I was commencing would not be published until 1998," wrote Britsch, "I might have despaired and moved on to other things" (xi). Yet, with determination he proceeded to write a conversational-style text on the history of Mormonism in the Asian nations.

In the text Britsch tells of LDS missionary efforts from 1851 to 1996 in Asia—his primary focus being post-World War II. He gives detailed accounts of the visits of Church leaders, beginning with Heber J. Grant's opening of the Japanese Mission in 1901 and ending with Gordon B. Hinckley's dedication of the Hong Kong Temple in 1996. With academic care, Britsch trails the developing Mormon presence through each Asian nation with factual accuracy and meticulous documentation.

Each chapter in *From the East* begins with a description of the religious background of an Asian nation and introductory statements about Christianity within that nation. This consistent pattern places the Mormon experience in a useful context. Then Britsch chronologically recounts LDS milestones that mark the growth of Mormonism. These milestones appear as subheadings and push the text into an encyclopedic format. Photographs, statistical charts, journal entries, and abridged *Church News* articles

support the text and provide variety and personalized accounts to accompany the historical reporting.

Although Britsch suspected that “readers will uncover problems and inaccuracies here and there,” the reader is left with few complaints (xvi). The text is exceptional in its discussion of Mormonism in India and Japan. Britsch successfully weaves journal entries like “it makes me almost sick at heart to read of the Elders in other countries doing such great works” written by a discouraged missionary, with conclusions, “none of their approaches seemed to succeed,” to help the reader understand the difficulties of introducing Mormonism in Asia. Such anecdotal review of the missionary experience, thoughtful editorial comments, and careful analysis of the data provide new insights into the successes and failures of establishing a permanent Mormon presence in India and Japan.

Why are these chapters so exceptional? One reason is Britsch’s reliance on his past research—“A History of the Missionary Activities of the Church . . . in India, 1849-1856” (Master’s thesis, BYU, 1964) and “Early Latter-day Saint Missions to South and East Asia” (Ph.D. diss., Claremont Graduate University, 1967). Taking the best from these academic works has produced engaging and informative chapters.

Unfortunately, the same academic intensity wanes in the remaining chapters. Beginning with Chapter 8, Korea, Britsch relies on the research and personal experiences of others.¹ In the following six chapters, he covers Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam, Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, India, Nepal, Sri Lanka, and Pakistan. There is a marked decline in information and a growing unevenness in the material presented. Also somewhat disturbing is Britsch’s apparent willingness to accept uncritically reports in the *Church News*.

Yet there is much of value in these chapters. Especially notable are Britsch’s analysis and sensitive writing. For example, when recounting the story of the missionary photographed while “sitting on the neck of the Buddha,” Britsch tactfully omitted the name of the errant elder (385). He then analyzed the situation and concluded, “Perhaps no act by LDS missionaries during the past twenty-five years has more strongly emphasized the need for greater maturity, more cultural knowledge, and increased sensitivity everywhere in the Church” (386).

A further reason to continue reading is the selected statements of Gordon B. Hinckley. For example, when speaking of the Hong Kong

¹ For Korea, Britsch relied on Spencer J. Palmer and Shirley H. Palmer, comps. and eds., *The Korean Saints: Personal Stories of Trial and Triumph, 1950-1980* (Provo, Utah: Religious Education, Brigham Young University, 1995).

Temple, President Hinckley said, "If ever in my life I felt the inspiration of the Lord, it was with this building" (296). Although this statement will be familiar to readers of the *Church News*, the renewed emphasis is significant, as are prophecies made by President Hinckley about the Asian nations.

Although the wide brush used in the later chapters imposes limitations, it also has its advantages. For instance, Britsch's insights into the sequential order in which the gospel is introduced in Asian nations is informative. According to Britsch, it begins with dedicating the land and calling missionaries to labor in that land. Missionaries initially encounter external and internal opposition during their labors. For example, in Darkhan, Mongolia, missionaries encountered the logic, "We have one Christian church in Darkhan. We only have one Buddhist church in Mongolia. We don't need another Christian church in this city" (313). Time passes and with it comes greater acceptance of the Mormon presence, often by miraculous means.

Next, Church leaders acquire property and the translation of the Book of Mormon begins. This phase is also marred with minor and major difficulties. For example, Britsch notes that while translating the Book of Mormon into Indonesian, the "Indonesian government changed the system of spelling!" (486) When these obstacles are overcome, conversion rates begin to double.

Unfortunately, both convert and missionary struggle to separate the gospel from Mormon western tradition. For example, in Japan it is not customary for married couples to sit next to each other in religious meetings while in the United States husbands and wives traditionally do. As the gospel is better understood and Mormon traditions are deleted, testimonies grow.

Soon Asians are called as local missionaries and leaders. With Asians teaching and leading Asians, Church membership accelerates. The next step is that stakes are formed and a proposed temple is announced. When the Tokyo Temple was announced, Latter-day Saints applauded. Gordon B. Hinckley "noted that this was the first time he had been in a Church meeting when the people had broken into spontaneous applause" (142). The temple is dedicated, bringing its blessings to those worthy to enter.

The sequence of LDS events in the Asian countries appears to be a twentieth-century pattern that emerged after World War II. This pattern, as seen in Asia, is sweeping the earth as Mormonism spreads. I found this sequential pattern, presented by Britsch and repeated in thirteen Asian nations, to be extremely insightful, along with many other insights that go unmentioned. I concur with the book jacket, "*From the East* is an important addition to the library of every Latter-day Saint who is interested in the worldwide history of the Church." I predict that the book will be used as a

reference tool for years to come. Although in Britsch's words, "updating and new editions are especially needed for books like this one" (565), reading *From the East* is a must. With only the slightest reservations, I commend Britsch for creating the only book of its kind on the market.

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William G. Hartley. *To Build, To Create, To Produce: Ephraim P. Ellison's Life and Enterprises, 1850-1939*. N.p.: Ellison Family Organization, 1997. xvii + 556 pp. Photographs, maps, appendices, index. ISBN 0-87905-750-5. Inquire about cost and ordering from Peter K. Ellison, 7515 South 2340 East, Salt Lake City, UT 84121 or Benchmark Books, 1-800-486-3112 or (801) 486-3111

Reviewed by Craig Fuller

The dramatic growth and development of commerce and trade between 1890 to 1920 was nothing short of an internal revolution for Utah. Several noted Utah historians have characterized this period as the Americanization of the state. The period was marked by the abandonment of polygamy, acceptance of political diversity, and the local development of commerce and trade, driven by the national market economy. Not surprisingly, the social and political ramifications of this change have received more attention than the national economic issues such as bimetalism, international trade and tariffs, immigration, and finance.

A little-studied aspect of this period is that a number of Mormon businessmen who were not part of the Church's central ecclesiastical organization were stimulated by the entrepreneurial enthusiasm of the times. From small mercantile establishments, hometown banks, and other commercial enterprises founded by small assemblages of local entrepreneurs grew large numbers of commercial establishments, food-processing companies, live-stock companies, and other businesses that contributed significantly to the economic development of Utah and the Intermountain West.

Among the emerging native enterprises were the Farmers Union of Layton, Layton Sugar Company, First National Bank of Layton, Ellison Ranching Company, and Ellison Milling Company founded or invested in by Ephraim Peter ("E. P.") Ellison. He joined other local entrepreneurs of the period like Jesse Knight, Henry Rolapp, Nephi Morris, Charles Redd,

James Sharp, William S. McCornick, John Beck, Thomas Kearns, Ezra J. Fjeldsted, Emanuel Felix Drefous and his son, Jules Simeon Drefous, James E. Cosgriff, Abe Cohne, William Wattis, and David Eccles.

William Hartley has organized this business biography of E. P. Ellison chronologically into five parts with twenty-four chapters and three appendices. Part 1 deals with E. P.'s family background, his parents' conversion to Mormonism in England, their migration to Nauvoo and later to Zion, and their eventual location in the young settlement of Kaysville, Utah. The other section titles are "Community Builder," "Enterprising Family," "War, Peace, and Prosperity," and "The Final Decade."

E. P. and his immediate family left virtually no personal records other than E. P.'s daybook, which he kept religiously. Overcoming this obstacle, Hartley carefully and skillfully uses a wide variety of primary resources including various LDS church records, court records, county assessor tax rolls, company records, minute books, and incorporation records held by members of the Ellison Family Organization and extant companies to write this very fine biography. Often business records contain warts and other blemishes which are hidden or otherwise withheld from the historian or business biographer. However, this is not the case here. In large measure the success of this business biography is the generosity and willingness of the Ellison Family Organization and extant companies to permit Hartley to research and write freely. For this the family organization and the various companies are to be congratulated.

E. P. began his successful business career with his father, John, in the sheep and cattle business in northern Davis County. Later he joined with his brother Elijah to invest in a threshing machine that they operated as a custom threshing service. Other businessmen recognized E. P.'s entrepreneurial moxie early when they asked him to join them in organizing the Farmers Union mercantile establishment in Layton. The older and more experienced founders selected E. P. to serve as store's treasurer and superintendent; and within a matter of months, E. P. declared a 19.5 percent dividend. Within a year or two, E. P. parleyed his small investment into becoming a major stockholder in the Farmers Union.

Recognizing future opportunities even during the serious economic problems of the 1890s, E. P. convinced stockholders of Farmers Union that expanding the store was required for continued success. As a result, Farmers Union remained an important business fixture in Layton and north Davis County until after World War II. Today its building is listed on the National Register of Historic Places, a monument to E. P.'s contributions to the state.

E. P. expanded his business interests and joined with Henry Gibson to organize the Layton Milling and Elevator Company in 1890. Other enter-

prises soon followed. Always a promoter of Layton, and Davis and Weber counties, E. P. served as vice-president and then president of the Davis and Weber Counties Canal Company from 1897 to the 1930s. As president, E. P. directed the planning and construction of the East Canyon Dam in 1897 and its enlargement in 1900.

Invited to join Jesse Knight's Canadian sugar venture in 1902, E. P. took a very active role as its vice-president and general manager, oversaw construction of the Knight sugar factory in Alberta, and promoted beet-planting. Other Canadian ventures included a large livestock company and power company. E. P. founded his own company, Ellison Milling and Elevator, Ltd., in Alberta, Canada, in 1906.

Closer to home, E. P. organized the First National Bank of Layton just after the turn of the century. In 1910 he joined with a handful of investors to establish the Ellison Ranching Company, one of the largest ranches in Nevada. By 1912, it was "a half-million dollar operation," owning more than 39,600 acres, running more than 3,200 head of cattle, and producing more than 5,100 tons of hay (234).

E. P. was a hands-on owner, stockholder, and manager. He made frequent trips to Canada to oversee his financial interests and responsibilities there. On his Nevada ranch, he spent considerable time riding the range, cutting and branding cattle and developing water resources. He seldom missed stockholders meetings. Equally important to E. P. was involving his children—James, Mary, Morris, John, and Evan—in his enterprises in various positions.

E. P. was not a single-minded man. He tried local politics. As a Davis County selectmen (1890-92), he skillfully negotiated important agreements with the Union Pacific Railroad, the Davis County Natural Gas Company, and others doing business in Davis County. Earlier E. P. served on the local school board in the 1880s. In 1900 he ran for a Utah Senate seat and lost.

As a progressive businessman, E. P. challenged the license and taxing authority of Kaysville City (188-90) and successfully carried his case to the state supreme court, encouraging the business community of Layton to separate itself from the less progressive town of Kaysville. The dispute over a city license began when, as Hartley describes it, "the Kaysville marshall arrested James Ellison [E. P.'s eldest son] for selling goods at the Farmers Union." The "goods" consisted of a plug of chewing tobacco. The marshal and his deputy went to E. P.'s home and "confiscated a new sixty dollar wagon—a high price for a wagon—and his [E. P.'s] dog, which always brought in the cows to be milked." Hartley adds that it isn't known whether "the wagon or dog were returned" (156).

E. P.'s far-flung business empire kept him constantly on the go, yet he seemed to remain close to his nine children and his wife Elizabeth. A

shortcoming of this biography is its chapters dealing with family matters. To be fair, Hartley warns the reader that his portraits of Elizabeth and family relations are "lean" owing to "incomplete or missing records" (xiii). I also felt that Hartley encumbered the biography with too many lists: children, tithing paid annually, tons of sugar beets harvested, stockholders, and the amount of stock owned. This kind of raw historical information is better included in appendices.

Although not published for wide distribution, E. P.'s biography should be made available to the many public libraries in the state. The business activities of Ephraim Peter Ellison are one more piece in the mosaic of the history of business in Utah at the turn of the twentieth century.

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Todd Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997. xv + 788 pp. Photographs, abbreviations, bibliographies, and chapter references, index. \$39.95. ISBN: 1-56085-085-X

Reviewed by B. Carmon Hardy

Determining the number of women married to Joseph Smith Jr. while he was alive will occupy students of Mormonism as long as serious interest in the Church's founder continues. Some, like Joseph H. Jackson, maliciously claimed that the Prophet boasted of having hundreds. Spokesmen for the RLDS Church, until recently, denied that, apart from his wife Emma, Smith had any. While the exact number is unlikely ever to be known, reliable counts range between twenty-seven and forty-eight. Todd Compton, in his survey identifies thirty-three plural wives for whom he finds persuasive evidence of a sealing to Smith during the latter's life time.

Commencing with an introduction and prologue that review this and other questions associated with Smith's marital activities, Compton provides us with the most comprehensive account ever written of Smith's plural wives, his relationships with them, and their life experiences after his death. Among other things, and contrary to Mormon folk tradition contending that a rationale for polygamy arose from a need to care for older, unattached women, Compton shows that the largest percentage of Smith's thirty-three successful proposals were to women between ages fourteen and

twenty. What it was that drove Smith to take so many wives, Compton says, was the scriptural command to multiply along with promises made to Abraham concerning his posterity. Smith's own revelations not only approved the practice but linked glory and kingdom in the next life to the extent of one's family here. But this motivation makes the dearth of known progeny from such relationships the more glaring, especially if, as Compton says, the Mormon leader was intimately involved with most whom he married. The explanation offered by later apologists—that the Prophet's plural wives had difficulty conceiving because of the harried conditions under which he visited them—only begs the question of God's part in arrangements He had commanded.

Compton carefully explores the delicate matter of polyandry—the intimacy of so many already-married women (one third of the thirty-three identified here) with Smith. Compton explains the Prophet's willingness to cultivate such relationships as, among other things, a consequence of his disbelief in the binding authority of civil marriages and his conviction that his attractions were ratified in the preexistence. Compton also shows that polyandrous companions were the most active assistants Smith had in recruiting and initiating younger women into the principle. But polyandrous marriages were as vulnerable, if not more so, to complication and tragedy as the rest. The cruel, well-known story of Henry Jacobs and Zina Diantha Huntington Jacobs, especially Henry's heart-rending odyssey after Zina's marriage to Brigham Young, is retold in powerful detail. The experience of Zina's older sister, Presendia Lathrop Huntington Buell, another polyandrous wife, is movingly laid before us with its amalgam of deception, heartache, and spiritual devotion.

And there were Smith's polyandrous marriages to Patty Bartlett Sessions and Sylvia Sessions Lyon, mother and daughter, providing us with the only firm instance known of Smith successfully fathering a child by a plural wife: Josephine Rosetta Lyon, Sylvia's daughter. While these two marriages were surrounded by secrecy, and Compton suggests that no cohabitation between Smith and Patty occurred, it is quite certain that both women knew of the other's marriage to the Prophet—an emotionally complicated and possibly ugly entanglement of the kind critics later seized on as confirming the decadence of polygamous society in Utah. Compton contends that some of the husbands involved in Smith's polyandrous marriages probably knew of their wives' relationship to the Prophet but were assuaged by the honor of a dynastic tie to Smith as well as other blessings he promised, including the prospect of plural wives for themselves.

One of the contributions this book makes to our knowledge of polygamy in the Nauvoo period is a clearer view of how Smith approached women he wished to marry. It was done, most often, indirectly through an inter-

mediary such as a brother, father, or close friend. Blessings were commonly promised to those who gave such aid as well as to the woman involved. Hesitation was met with assurances that fervent prayer would reveal the righteousness of Smith's intent and the argument that the woman concerned had already been given to the Prophet in the preexistence. These complex negotiations, of course, took place within a context of faith that Smith was indeed inspired—a faith nurtured by the Prophet's charismatic personality and what Compton refers to as "Smith's enormous psychic presence" (228).

Of greater importance than information about Smith, and central to the book's intent, are the women he married. Too frequently our histories grant them little more than vague identities, leaving them overshadowed by the hero patriarchs of Mormonism's early years. And what this book reveals is that most often their lives were riddled with great hardship, secrecy, and feelings of disregard. While in Nauvoo, not only had they to conceal their marriages to the Prophet from others, including most Church members, but they found one of their chief foes in Joseph's first wife Emma. More than Eliza R. Snow alone met with Emma's wrath and was driven from her home. Fanny Alger, perhaps Smith's first plural wife, and the Partridge sisters personally experienced Emma's fierce jealousy. Describing these and similar matters, Compton refers to "the cloak and dagger atmosphere . . . of Nauvoo polygamy" (350). Given such a milieu, and our growing appreciation of the role played by plural marriage in precipitating Joseph's and Hyrum's assassinations, one is no more astonished by the Prophet's commitment to the practice than the determination of his plural companions to stay the course with him.

Difficult as times were in Nauvoo, conditions for Smith's widows became more perilous at the time of the overland crossing and after their arrival in the Great Basin. Though most were remarried to high church authorities like Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball for "time" (they were to be Smith's in eternity), they were sometimes neglected. Few images in the book evoke more pathos than Compton's account of Emily Partridge, ignored by Joseph after Emma ejected her, Hagar-like, from the Mansion House. Though taken on as one of Brigham's plural wives, Emily was left to cross the Mississippi in the winter of 1846 by herself with a three-month-old child in her arms, straggling "from one fire to another, receiving food and shelter from near-strangers" (412).

It is interesting that the period during which these women were involved with Joseph Smith was so brief. At best, none had more than four years of even a shadow marriage with him. Since most were quite young, their widowhoods were long indeed. In each case, Compton provides extensive information on other marriages and especially on what happened to the

women after Smith's assassination. In most instances, the strongest theme that emerges in recounting their post-Nauvoo lives is despair and loneliness. There were, to begin with, the difficulties of a frontier, of pioneering life with its sickness, heat, cold, and want. Women, including Smith's widows, endured an appalling amount of infant mortality. Louisa Beaman, one of Smith's earliest plural wives, and one who was remarried to Brigham Young after the tragedy at Carthage, not only lost all five of her children, but died of breast cancer in 1850. Grafted into the large families of other pluralists, Smith's former wives were less unique and more neglected than in Nauvoo where, with all its difficulties, their alliances with the Prophet brought at least the private satisfaction that, as Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner was later reminded, they had been "the first honored of God to help lay the foundation of this great work of regeneration."¹

For those polyandrously involved with Smith, after the removal west where polygamy was publicly acknowledged and encouraged, they themselves now had to endure displacement as husbands invited new partners to their beds. Reading these accounts, one is quickly disabused, as the women themselves undoubtedly were, of any assumption that Mormon worthies always took care to obtain the consent of previous wives before marrying new ones. Nevertheless, both in Winter Quarters and in Utah, Smith's widows met together often, cultivated common memories, and cheered themselves by singing, speaking in tongues, and giving each other blessings. One senses that these occasions with their intense spiritual displays were in many instances but a way of sublimating grief. Compton summed up the matter best, perhaps, in his discussion of Agnes Moulton Coolbrith by saying "polygamy was almost an institutionalized form of marital neglect" (170).

The largest effect left by the book is that the women were as real and human as ourselves. They felt the thrill of a living Prophet in their midst, the equivocal surprise of his forbidden, romantic attention, and the bereavement of secret widowhood after his untimely death. One also senses their pride, arising from the teachings that they were this dispensation's premier exemplars of heaven's own system of marriage. At the same time, they had to brook the humiliation of scandal and suspicion, as in the case of Marinda Nancy Hyde, who was not only the legal wife of Apostle Orson Hyde but rumored to be a sexual partner to Willard Richards before also becoming the plural wife of Joseph Smith. If only occasionally, these women

¹ Zina D. H. Young, Letter to Mary Elizabeth (Rollins) Lightner, 22 June 1887, typescript copy included with Biographical Sketch of Mary Elizabeth (Rollins) Lightner, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

must have started at and questioned the divinity of Smith's claims. It is not insignificant, as Compton shows, that four of Smith's plural wives drifted from the body of the church: Fanny Alger, Lucinda Pendleton Morgan, Agnes Coolbrith, and Elizabeth Davis—the latter eventually joining the RLDS Church which, ironically, was engaged in a crusade to prove that Joseph Smith had taken no plural wives at all.

With so many strengths, one wishes that the book were documented in a different way. It would have been clearer and easier to review Compton's sources had he employed traditional endnotes rather than organizing his references by phrases and names. While the amount of material consulted was enormous, and reading Compton's notes is rewarding, references supporting precise passages in the text are too difficult to find. I also felt that the attempt to compare Joseph Smith's method of recruiting plural wives with the anthropological device known as "exchange of women" (32-33) was extraneous. The use of models from the social sciences is sometimes insightful. In this case, however, I found it unhelpful in explaining how and why Smith behaved the way he did. Similarly, the description of some of Smith's marriages as leviratic, "modified" leviratic, or "ideologically" leviratic (15, 295, 364, 371) goes further than the evidence allows. With the exception of Agnes Moulton Coolbrith, none of Smith's wives were widows of his blood brothers; neither did he succeed in raising up progeny to their names, one of the purposes of the levirate.

But in the face of the work's many gifts, these are minor criticisms. Compton succeeds in establishing his central thesis: the "tragic ambiguity" of the women Smith chose as plural companions (xiii). He accomplishes this, in part, by his sensitive style and in part by questioning his own inferences, by doubling back on the evidence to suggest alternative interpretations. This technique is illustrated in a passage describing the assistance given Smith by Elizabeth Davis, perhaps the most-married and one of the older of his polyandrous plural wives, in contacting other prospective spouses:

Depending on how one feels about polygamy, Elizabeth's activities as Smith's messenger will be viewed with more or less sympathy. The feminist will perhaps see her as co-opted by the male to further his power, while conservative Mormons will see her as obediently following a Prophet. Even those unsympathetic to Joseph will understand that Elizabeth, like all Mormon women, had accepted him as an infallible leader and that it was the intensity of her religiosity that led her to influence other women to enter polygamy. In the nineteenth century, all leading Mormon women were expected to further the cause of polygamy, which was considered identical with the cause of the church. (262)

In Sacred Loneliness is a major work that will long be essential to anyone studying Mormon history. Apart from the illumination the stories provide

concerning the Prophet himself, Todd Compton's portraits of Smith's plural companions elevate the importance of women in Mormonism generally. Rather than the satellite role to which Mormon writers have so often assigned their pioneer mothers, by giving them his primary attention, Compton makes women the chief characters in the drama of the Prophet's polygamy. Because he paints those in the early Church, both men and women, with flesh tones and earth pigments, there will undoubtedly be attempts to diminish the work's credibility by searching for the inevitable, occasional error and criticizing the author's naturalistic approach. But such a reading will miss the deeper, humane achievement of this book. Moreover, Compton consistently makes a large effort to be both fair and empathetic in his renderings. When accounts differ, he presents them honestly, leaving the reader to decide which is preferable—as in the matter of Smith's relationship with Fanny Alger: was it in fact a solemnly contracted plural union or only an affair? Compton himself believes it was a bona fide plural marriage. The quantity of detail summoned in sifting through these lives and dealing with such questions will invite profitable revisiting of Compton's book again and again by historians of every bias.

This volume was given the Best Book award by the Mormon History Association and also by the John Whitmer Historical Association. These prizes are fully deserved. *In Sacred Loneliness* will continue to be the best collective biography on the plural wives of Joseph Smith for many years to come.

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Gregory A. Prince. *Power from On High: The Development of Mormon Priesthood*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1995. 231 pp. Notes, index. \$24.95. ISBN 1-56085-071-X

Reviewed by Matthew S. Moore

Power from On High is a valuable analysis and approach to the study of power and authority in and of the priesthood, primarily during the lifetime of Joseph Smith. Prince has gathered an impressive collection of early documents and arranged them in a logical, chronological, and useful manner. On these he relies heavily in the eight chapters of the book: "Authority," "Offices," "Ordinances, 1829-30," "Ordinances: The Endowment," "Ordinances, 1831-

36," "Ordinances: The Second Anointing," "Judicial Systems," and "Women and Priesthood."

Some of Prince's conclusions depart from traditional historical narratives. For example, he asserts that "apostles existed in the church as early as 1829, and that twelve apostles may have been selected as early as 1830" (13), unlike the traditional view that there were not "twelve apostles" until the Quorum of the Twelve was formally organized in 1835. Many of Prince's revisionist interpretations arise from his meticulous analysis of early priesthood terminology. He examines the origins and use of such terms as: "priesthood," "offices," "Aaronic Priesthood," "Melchizedek Priesthood," "lesser priesthood," "quorum," "apostles," "higher priesthood," "patriarchal priesthood," etc. Especially interesting is his examination of the development of priesthood offices and how they emerged, expanded, and were refined.

Prince focuses on the earliest documents, thus demonstrating a "developing theology" (37). He uses the model of "Harvard biologist Stephen Jay Gould who described biological evolution as 'punctuated equilibrium'—that is, a gradual process of development accented at irregular intervals by major changes over brief periods of time" (42). This approach is both a strength—in providing a strong chronology and paying close attention to the documents themselves—but it is also a weakness.

First, he treats matured memories, reminiscences, and scriptural redactions by individuals involved in the development of the priesthood as being of lesser value. For instance, in the chapter, "Authority," when discussing the restoration of the priesthood, he ignores accounts after 1829-31 by Joseph Smith, Oliver Cowdery, and others who recorded statements from Smith and Cowdery. For example, he fails to quote such crucial documents as Joseph Smith's 1839 account¹ and Addison Everett's accounts² of the restoration of the Melchizedek Priesthood. Prince does not deal with foundational events in the traditional account such as the appearance of Peter James, and John, exactly what they restored, or the complexities and controversy of dating these events but simply recognizes in a footnote that

¹ Joseph Smith, "History, 1839," *The Papers of Joseph Smith*, edited by Dean C. Jesse, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989-92), 1:238-39, 299-300; *Times and Seasons* 3 (15 September 1842): 915, compiled with other documents in Brian Q. Cannon and BYU Studies Staff, "Priesthood Restoration Documents," *BYU Studies* 35, no. 4 (1995-96): 162-207.

² O. B. Huntington, "Words and Incidents of the Prophet Joseph's Life," *Young Woman's Journal*, November 1890, 75-76; Addison Everett, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, 16 January 1882, in Dan Vogel, ed., *Early Mormon Documents*, Vol. 1 (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996), 196-203.

“the restoration of higher authority remains a topic of considerable debate, with disagreement over the date and circumstances” (6 note 14).³

Second, this approach is selective, for Prince includes David Whitmer’s 1885 and 1887 recollections of 1829 priesthood development seemingly at face value (6). Further, he interprets a discourse of Joseph Smith given 5 October 1840 as stating “explicitly that the concept of priesthood was fluid, that one could not point to a single date when ‘the priesthood was restored.’ The events of 1829, 1831, and 1836 were all part of the gradual restoration of priesthood, a restoration best understood as a process rather than an event” (38). This discourse or treatise on the priesthood, apparently the only discourse for which Smith ever prepared a text, was read 5 October 1840 to a general conference by his scribe Robert B. Thompson.⁴ In light of Smith’s statement to the Nauvoo Lyceum on 5 January 1841 that “all priesthood is Melchizedek; but there are different portions or degrees of it,”⁵ a more logical interpretation of both the 1840 and the 1841 statements is that restoration of priesthood *was* a specific event, followed by further “portions or degrees of it.” Further, if Smith is to be believed, John the Baptist’s restoration of the Aaronic Priesthood in May 1829, followed by the more loosely dated restoration of the Melchizedek Priesthood by Peter, James, and John, certainly would constitute “events.”

Third, Prince’s pattern of excluding documents allows him to make some sweeping statements that are incorrect. For example, Prince sees Elijah as preeminent in Smith’s theology after 1840 because “Smith never” associated “Moroni, John the Baptist, or Peter, James and John—previous angelic ministers—with the concept of priesthood” after 1840 (2-3). Yet post-1840 publications created under Smith’s supervision include scriptural references, historical narratives, and other public and private teachings. For example, he taught in 1841 that “all the authority that we have is from John.”⁶ Further, Smith’s 6 September 1842 letter to the Saints (D&C

³ Prince cites as an “alternate viewpoint,” D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994). For a detailed discussion of the Melchizedek Priesthood restoration “debate,” see Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 162-63, 240-41 note 55.

⁴ In Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, comps. and eds., *The Words of Joseph Smith: The Contemporary Accounts of the Nauvoo Discourses of the Prophet Joseph* (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1980), 38-44, 50 note 1.

⁵ Extracts from William Clayton’s Private Book in *ibid.*, 59.

⁶ 21 March 1841, Howard and Martha Coray Notebook, in *ibid.*, 66.

128:20-21) mentions Moroni, Michael, Peter, James, John, Gabriel, Raphael, and divers angels "all declaring their dispensation, their rights, their keys, their honors, their majesty and glory, and the power of their priesthood." Strikingly, Elijah does not appear on this list.⁷

Fourth, Prince relies too heavily on existing documents without allowing for alternate interpretations, not always a wise approach if previously unavailable or unknown documents emerge. For example, he states that "there was not yet an office of high priest, even though Book of Mormon passages referred to Melchizedek as high priest" and that the term "high priest" did not appear until 26 April 1832 (19). However, William E. McLellin recorded on 25 October 1831 that he and others were ordained to the "High-Priesthood of the Holy order of God," calling it a little later in the same sentence, "that office."⁸ Although McLellin does not actually use the term "high priest," it is difficult to think that he means anything else.

And finally, Prince is simply incorrect in some claims. He asserts that Martin Harris's loss of the Book of Mormon manuscript resulted in the "earliest instance of punitive action" (193). However, Smith confessed youthful follies that made him feel "condemned for my weakness and imperfections" and also received a physical "shock" when he disobediently tried to remove the plates from the hill.⁹ As another example, Prince mentions that, when the Nauvoo Temple was completed, some Saints anticipated that they would "meet [their] beloved Prophets" during the endowment. While technically correct, he does not deal with a group of seventies who, in a prayer circle on 22 March 1846, "pray[ed] for the Prophet Joseph to come into our midst and converse with us" nor with accounts of visions and dreams in which Smith appeared to, instructed, and

⁷ Giving Elijah preeminence in the priesthood also ignores Smith's statement before August 1839 that the keys "have to be brought from heaven whenever the Gospel is sent—When they are revealed from Heaven it is by Adams Authority." Willard Richards, *Pocket Companion*, in *ibid.*, 8.

⁸ Jan Shipps and John W. Welch, eds., *The Journals of William E. McLellin, 1831-1836* (Provo, Utah: BYU Studies/Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 45; William G. Hartley, "The McLellin Journals and Early Mormon History," *ibid.*, 283. Hartley also notes Prince's error in claiming that "pastors" were first appointed in 1856 in the British Mission (49); he states that the correct date is 1852 and that pastors also were known among Denmark's Mormons. Hartley, *Review of Power from On High*, *BYU Studies* 37, no. 1 (1997-98): 226, and his "LDS Pastors and Pastorates, 1852-55," in *Mormons in Early Victorian Britain*, edited by Richard L. Jensen and Malcolm R. Thorp (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989), 194 note 2.

⁹ Jesse, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:275-76, 86.

comforted the Saints.¹⁰ Although Prince's use of early primary documents is both a strength and a weakness, in my opinion using secondary sources would have provided balance and engaged Prince in dealing with significant scholarly differences.

Despite my reservations, I value the research and interpretations found in *Power from On High*. I consider it a challenging and stimulating book that has moved me to further explore the development, expansion, and refining of priesthood with all of its appendages.

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A Woman's View: Helen Mar Whitney's Reminiscences of Early Church History. Edited with an Introductory Essay by Jeni Broberg Holzapfel and Richard Neitzel Holzapfel. Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1997. xlviii + 519 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$22.95. ISBN 1-57008-357-6

Reviewed by Todd Compton

After one of her periodic bouts of ill health and depression in 1876, Helen Mar Whitney sent for Eliza R. Snow, who arrived with Margaret Smoot. After an administration, Whitney began reminiscing, and Smoot encouraged her strongly to share her history with "the young sisters." That night, Whitney wrote:

I made up my mind to commence my byography as it would serve two purposes, my mind would be occupied & this last reason stimulated me more than any other to undertake it. I was up stairs in a peaceful pleasant room where I had nothing to disturb my thoughts & after I commenced writing I gained in strength. — I became so absorbed in the past that I lost sight of the present, & almost fancied that I was young and living my life over again. Some portions of which brought sweetest joy, & others never failed to bring tears to my eyes. I realy felt that I was

¹⁰ Samuel W. Richards, Journal, 22 March 1846, qtd. in D. Michael Quinn, "Latter-day Saint Prayer Circles," *BYU Studies* 19 (Fall 1978): 174; William S. Harwell, ed., *Manuscript History of Brigham Young 1847-1850* (Salt Lake City: Collier's Publishing Company, 1997), 11, 34-36.

blessed in doing this & never again was I lonesome while occupied in that way.
(xxxviii)

Thus, writing her autobiography became a form of therapy for Whitney. In May 1880, her reminiscences began to appear in the *Woman's Exponent*, and continued in installments until August 1886. This autobiography (which ends with Whitney in Winter Quarters) takes up most of the Holzapfels' book. However, a short, "private" autobiographical document, written to her children in 1881, is also included as an appendix. It tells of the trials she faced when she married Joseph Smith as a young teen in Nauvoo. Whitney's *Deseret News* obituary is a second appendix.

As the Holzapfels' introduction makes clear, Whitney was an extraordinarily important early Mormon. As the daughter of Heber C. Kimball and Vilate Murray Kimball, her life overlapped that of the early Church in New York, Kirtland, Missouri, Nauvoo, Winter Quarters, on the plains, and in early Utah. She rubbed shoulders with the Youngs (who were virtually relatives) and married into the important Whitney family. In Utah, she was a "leading lady of Zion" and a close friend of Eliza R. Snow and Emmeline B. Wells. She often accompanied Wells and other Relief Society leaders to speak in conferences throughout Utah.

Whitney had definite strengths and weaknesses as an autobiographical writer. Among the latter is the limitation of her form: published serially, the separate chapters often read like magazine essays rather than a tightly unified autobiography, and they follow only a rough chronological sequence. For instance, the first "essay" in the sequence recalls the Missouri expulsion; and Whitney does not turn to her New York childhood until she has written a number of installments. (The Holzapfels have respected the order of original publication, which is a decision both logical and historically reasonable. A different focus—one that concentrated on presenting Whitney's life—would have provided a rationale for rearranging the episodes in chronological order.) Another weakness is Whitney's tendency to quote frequently from the journal of either her father or husband, Horace Whitney. I wish that she had simply told her own story as she remembered it. Nevertheless, her use of these records often spurred her to recall details from her own memories.

Despite these limitations, Helen was a fine writer, if not so polished a stylist as Eliza R. Snow, and these are vivid memoirs, filled with striking scenes, moments of humor, and fond portraits of her parents and other relatives. Throughout, the book is informed by a passionate advocacy for her religion, which was also her people and her culture. Her philosophy of mortal life can be remarkably bleak: "This is a world of sorrow and disappointment," she writes in the first paragraph of the autobiography.

But the next life offers eschatological balance: "Life and everything here is uncertain, but beyond is eternal life and exaltation."

Also countering the bleakness of this mortal life is the warmth of her family. Whitney almost worshipped her parents. For me, her reminiscences did a wonderful job of humanizing Heber, a church leader who could speak with undeniable harshness on at least some occasions. Helen as a girl had once earned a whipping from her mother for her disobedience; but after praying intensely, she was overjoyed to have her mother rescind the promised punishment. After describing this incident, she says: "Often he [Heber] would turn to me with a sly twinkle and say, 'Here's Helen, she had to be whipt into obedience'; and I always admitted it, saying: 'Yes; whom He loveth He chasteneth'; when he would burst out into one of his peculiar laughs" (53).

Many details in this book would interest a folklorist. In Nauvoo, "The skin of a rattlesnake wrapped around the head was said to be an excellent remedy for the headache." Though Helen balked at eating a rattler fried by her neighbors, "when the fever was on and my head distracted with pain, I was perfectly willing to have it bound up with snake skins" (111). She also records episodes of demonic attack that recur in Kimball family lore (17, 457-59, 461).

As the Holzapfels note, Whitney's autobiographical writings are a crucial source for studying early Mormon polygamy. The 1881 memoir, short as it is, stands with memoirs of Emily Partridge Young, Lucy Walker Kimball, and Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner as a key account in showing how Joseph Smith typically approached his prospective wives (often, as here, through a male relative), and how difficult the proposal was for the young wives to accept. It is particularly interesting to compare this private account with the more reticent published account (196-97).

In addition, these memoirs give striking, living portraits of otherwise obscure wives of Joseph Smith such as Fanny Young Murray, Sarah Ann Whitney Kimball, Sarah Lawrence Kimball, and Flora Woodworth Gove. Without Helen, we would know very little about them. She also sheds important light on early Mormons from Joseph Smith (I'm fascinated by Smith in an informal oracular mode [116]) to David Patten to David's formidable wife, Phoebe Ann Babcock Patten, who armed herself with a dagger to deal with mobocrats in Missouri soon after her husband had been killed (3).

I was given the chance to read the Holzapfels' manuscript and offer suggestions just before its publication, so they may object to belated criticism, but I was not present at the book's genesis, so will offer a few comments on some basic editorial decisions. I would have liked footnotes identifying historical figures and commenting on the text in places. Or,

alternatively, a register of the more important people Helen refers to would have been helpful. Granted, such an undertaking would have been challenging, given the complex families in early, polygamous Mormonism, but it could have offered great insight in just a few pages.

These quibbles aside, *A Woman's View* is a landmark publication—required reading for anyone interested in early Mormon history. It stands with Maureen Ursenbach Beecher's edition of Eliza Snow's personal writings and Donna Toland Smart's publication of Patty Sessions's diaries [both reviewed in this issue] as a key publication of a primary text by a nineteenth-century Mormon woman. The Holzapfels have done a great service in collecting these serial installments from the *Woman's Exponent* and preparing them for publication. In addition, their introduction is insightful and informative, looking at Whitney's autobiography from a number of perspectives. The Holzapfels and BYU should be commended especially for publishing the 1881 memoir in its entirety for the first time, as it is a very frank account of Helen's marriage to Joseph Smith. "Conservative" Mormon presses have generally lagged behind "independent" or academic presses in publishing important primary works in Mormon history. May we hope that BYU and FARMS, peculiarly situated to publish such works, will continue to do so.

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Sterling M. McMurrin and L. Jackson Newell. *Matters of Conscience: Conversations with Sterling M. McMurrin on Philosophy, Education, and Religion*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books in Association with Smith Research Associates, 1996. xxxii + 389 pp. Photograph, index. \$28.95. ISBN 1-56085-087-6

Reviewed by Dale C. LeCheminant

Woven through the fabric of this book are the ironic parallels between the life of Sterling M. McMurrin, a self-proclaimed heretic, and the life of Joseph Smith, the founder-prophet of the Church to which McMurrin belonged his entire life, notwithstanding challenges to his membership. Both were independent, self-assured, charismatic, and highly intelligent; both were men of action and achievement—although their professional activities lay along different paths. But more than this, in the profound reaches of character, both

told their truths without hesitation. And for this integrity, both drew devoted disciples who revered them, as well as determined detractors who sought their downfall.

McMurrin speaks cordially of those friends and associates who held him in high regard. Also, without rancor or self-justification, he frankly recounts his candid encounters with several high ecclesiasts, one of whom told him that he "can be a 'very, very dangerous man in the church'" (194). Of course, there is more to McMurrin's story than his love-disgust relationship with the Church, central as that issue was. There is much more.

Over about eight years, L. Jackson Newell, professor of higher education at the University of Utah, conducted a series of interview-discussions with philosopher Sterling M. McMurrin, his friend and colleague. Their talks covered McMurrin's entire life, from his summer work as a teenage cattle wrangler on his grandfather William Moss's huge spread (the Deseret Land and Livestock Company) to the end of his life as a senior statesman, recognized and often sought after as an intellectual and educator. The warm and easy relationship of Newell and McMurrin makes these chats into a flexible, intimate record, at once valuable to students of Utah and national history and to those more particularly interested in the life of one of Utah's distinguished educator-intellectuals.

Four complementary additions to the interviews enhance the tone of understanding and appreciation. J. Boyer Jarvis, a friend from McMurrin's earliest days at the University of Utah, wrote the foreword, while Newell provided a preface, introduction, and epilogue. A brief but useful index helps the reader locate key people, publications, enterprises, and institutions associated with McMurrin's life.

Reared in a time of little money, McMurrin learned self-reliance and integrity from work at various jobs. He possessed an exceptional mind and capacious memory, and his early inclinations were to learning. Wide reading became a passion. His father, Joseph W. McMurrin, Jr., was a teacher, and his mother, Gertrude Moss McMurrin, was a thoughtful and intelligent woman; together, they created a home atmosphere of books, conversation, and encouragement in which the developing young intellectual flourished. As he advanced, many along the way recognized his talents and fostered his growth. In his tenth grade, at the invitation of the faculty at Manual Arts High School in Los Angeles, he taught his peers classes in biology, English, and geometry. A student at the University of Utah, he made fast friends among the faculty though he had little interest in his classmates—with the exception of Natalie Cotterel, his future wife. His astute reminiscences about the high-level, behind-the-scenes dynamics of University of Utah life are absorbing for those interested in the university's history.

He was profoundly committed to his wife and family. He and Natalie were married in the Salt Lake Temple on 8 June 1938 by David O. McKay, who later, as Church president, defended him against excommunication. They reared five children. As Sterling's parents had done, they created cultural experiences for their family wherever they lived, frequenting museums, attending lectures, and enjoying plays and sight-seeing trips. Music and opera were central to McMurrin's aesthetic sensibilities. An inveterate reader of nonfiction, a cerebral rationalist capable of refined distinctions in complex thought, the first Distinguished Professor at the University of Utah, he still confessed: "I have been more deeply impressed by the music that I have heard than by the books I have read. My deep sense of the tragedy and triumph of life, expressed in the world's greatest literature, for example the Book of Job, is a living experience in the world's greatest music" (358).

Before and after his service as John F. Kennedy's U.S. Commissioner of Education (April 1961-September 1962), he reluctantly accepted calls to serve on government and educational boards, on commissions, and in other high posts, feeling obliged to serve the best interests of his school and country. But, always, his first love was teaching and writing. All these activities brought him into contact with men of distinction, many of whom became fast friends. The list reads like a *Who's Who* in government, business, education, and the arts: Brand Blanchard, Aaron Copeland, Father Theodore Hesburgh, John F. Kennedy, Walter Paepcke (industrialist), Walter Reuther, Abraham Ribicoff, Paul Tillich, and Stewart Udall, among others. Courted for the presidency of several universities or tenured professorial posts, he chose instead to rear his family in Utah, his chosen career of teaching philosophy at the University of Utah being repeatedly interrupted by reluctantly accepted administrative positions at the university and ad hoc assignments out of state.

He loved Utah. And he loved the Mormon community despite his openly admitted heresies: "I do love the church. People sometimes find that hard to believe. . . . It's hard for them to believe that I can have good will toward the church, but I do. My ancestors chose the church. I was born in it and reared in it. It's just part of my make-up. . . . Being a Mormon is simply being part of a family, and you know even the stray sheep in the family can love the family and even defend it" (208).

Newell reported that his interviews with McMurrin produced a transcript almost sixteen inches high; obviously, much winnowing was necessary. But I was disappointed at the relatively sparse information on McMurrin's work with the Northwest Association of Schools and Colleges, where he exerted influence behind the scenes to aid universities in Utah with their accreditation, his relationships with Utah leaders of church and state, and his years

as Commissioner of Education. But perhaps another volume is in the making.

Readers of the Newell-McMurrin book will locate what they seek in the life story of this controversial man. Opponents will find evidence aplenty of his openly expressed heresies to brand him the "Anti-Christ" (213), although when he learned another heretic had also been called the Anti-Christ, he quipped disarmingly, "I guess that makes me the Anti-Christ emeritus." Finally, those who sympathize with McMurrin will find the qualities that brought Newell to conclude in the last line of his epilogue, "No wonder we loved him." McMurrin died 6 April 1996—surely he could not have chosen the date more carefully!—in St. George, Utah, while this book was in press.

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Maureen Ursenbach Beecher. *The Personal Writings of Eliza Roxcy Snow*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1995; xx + 316 pp. Photographs of documents, family member appendix, name register, notes, index. \$34.95. ISBN 0-87480-477-9

Reviewed by Polly Aird

Eliza Roxcy Snow needs no introduction to Mormon audiences: "Zion's poetess," successive plural wife of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young, sister of Lorenzo Snow, president of the Relief Society, and godmother of the Primary Association and Young Ladies Mutual Improvement Association—to name only her major roles. But her great accomplishments and credentials cut her off from the average Mormon woman's world. For Mormons, she is equivalent to a Catholic saint in her example and spiritual stature; but like many Catholic saints, she comes across as two-dimensional, as a nearly flat person. Did she have emotions? Did she get annoyed or testy? Was she truly perfect? Now for the first time we get a glimpse of the real Eliza through her personal writings.

Editor Maureen Ursenbach Beecher has assembled Snow's autobiographical "Sketch of My Life" with her three known diaries; these latter contain many poems, about twenty never before published. Beecher pro-

vides a general introduction plus introductions and annotations for each of the writings, putting them into historical context and elucidating some of Snow's cryptic expressions or disguised allusions. This collection will be welcomed by anyone interested in early Mormon history or more especially in the thoughts and reactions of a woman who, though married to the first two presidents of the church, was essentially a spinster and found meaning in life through devotion to her beliefs and leading the female side of her church.

Snow wrote her "Sketch of My Life" in her later years to serve as a role model for Mormon women and as a counterpoint to the anti-Mormon writings of the time which fed an audience outraged by polygamy. It glosses over the difficulties in her life and emphasizes her many accomplishments within the patriarchal Mormon world. Although chronologically the last of Snow's writings included in this book, Beecher wisely places it first as an overview of Snow's experiences and accomplishments. It is also interesting as the public image of her life that Snow wanted remembered.

But it is the three journals where the person behind the long list of achievements cracks the door—but only cracks it; she does not open it wide—for us to see something of her personality. She wrote the first journal in Nauvoo (June 1842–April 1844), the second on the trail from Nauvoo to and in Winter Quarters (February 1846–May 1847), and the third on the trail from Winter Quarters to and in Salt Lake City (June 1847–August 1849), though the 1849 notations are extremely brief.

The Nauvoo journal begins dramatically on the day of her marriage to Joseph Smith with "This is a day of much interest to my feelings" (52) and continues with obscure allusions to her secret marriage. We get a taste of her struggle and suffering over plural marriage which conflicted with her upbringing and sense of Christian morality: "While these thoughts were revolving in my mind, the heavens became shadowed with clouds and a heavy shower of rain and hail ensued, and I exclaim'd 'O God, is it not enough that we have the . . . prejudices and . . . hatred [of mankind] . . . but must we also stand amid the rage of elements?'" (52).

The description of her marriage to Joseph Smith in the "Sketch of My Life" presents a much moderated version of her anguish: "But when I reflected that I was living in the Dispensation of the Fulness of times, embracing all other Dispensations, surely Plural Marriage must necessarily be included, and I consoled myself with the idea that it was . . . beyond the period of my mortal existence. It was not long, however, . . . [that] I received the first intimation . . . that the 'set time' had come. . . . As I increased in knowledge concerning the principle and design of Plural Marriage, I grew in love with it" (16–17).

The contrast between Snow's two accounts of her marriage, one the

immediate jottings torn with confusion and the other a carefully reasoned statement for public consumption, exemplify Beecher's distinction between a diary and an autobiography: "Each recorded moment, each diary entry, is a piece saved from the fabric of a woman's day. Ragged, incomplete, misshapen—only its color and its pattern are left to show how it fits with its mates. A diary or a journal can be seen as a jumble of unconnected pieces tossed together into a box and pushed under the bed. Having survived the greater demands of her life, a woman might in her later years pull out her box of swatches and arrange them into a full quilt top" (xvi).

Snow's writings leave much unanswered: Why did Joseph Smith pick a thirty-eight-year-old spinster for a plural wife? Did Eliza have a role in his life, either public or private? Did she have sexual relations with him? Did she have an altercation with Emma, Joseph's first wife, as has been previously believed? The diaries give no clues. As for Snow's subsequent marriage to Brigham Young, her diaries suggest a rather formal relationship. Young rarely visited her in Winter Quarters and then only to say hello or to briefly reassure her. "Prest. Y. shook hands with us," Eliza noted on one occasion (121).

While Snow leaves her marriages shrouded in mystery, she is somewhat more open about her spiritual life. Where the Nauvoo diary mentions "blessing meetings" among the women when the gifts of the Spirit, especially speaking in tongues, were poured out on them, the later diaries increasingly record such occurrences. Beecher points out: "The list [of those in one meeting] is significant: all of these women were participants in plural marriages. Since their crossing of the Mississippi River, which took them away from their critics . . . , the women had begun to share information about their secret alliances" (111). The sister wives appear to find solace in each other and evidence of divine caring in these meetings. In the days before leaving Winter Quarters, the women experienced a blessing deluge: "We had a spiritual feast in very deed," "Language cannot describe the scene," and "had a pow'rful time deep things were brought forth which were not to be spoken" (176). Snow was so absorbed in spiritual manifestations that she neglected to mention any preparations for the long trek to Salt Lake City. As the company made its way westward and the trail became more difficult, accounts of blessing meetings diminished.

Two small shortcomings in organization become apparent in reading this volume. Although Beecher has compiled a useful register of persons which includes, where known, the initials or abbreviations by which Snow refers to them, it would be helpful to have a separate list of the abbreviations, especially as many diary references are to initials or first names only. Also, Beecher has retained Snow's original dating system, where the month is usually given only on the first of the month, and the year only on the first

of the year. A running head or margin indication of the full date would have saved much flipping back and forth.

More important is the lack of notes clarifying landmarks along the trail. "Scotch" bluff is easily understood to mean Scott's Bluff, but there is no explanation of Fort John, the fort preceding Fort Laramie. Snow describes both Devil's Gate and South Pass without naming them; mention of their commonly known names would orient many readers.

Snow's diaries and Beecher's comments give new insights into the lives of plural wives, their dependency on each other, and their sense of sisterhood. We also see the difficult position of a single (though married) woman dependent on other families for housing and board. Perhaps the most vivid image conveyed by these writings is Snow's strong, almost fanatical faith. Beecher has accomplished a highly commendable job of presenting and interpreting the personal writings of Eliza Snow which show her somewhat less as inaccessible saint and somewhat more as animated woman.

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Roger D. Launius. *Alexander William Doniphan: Portrait of a Missouri Moderate*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1997. xiv + 316 pp. Photographs, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$37.50 cloth. ISBN 0-8262-1132-1

Reviewed by William P. MacKinnon

Roger D. Launius, NASA's Chief Historian and a prolific writer on early Mormon topics, succeeds in his stated intent: to present a portrait of Alexander William Doniphan (1808-87) as a man who pursued constitutional rights and moderation in a Missouri awash in both political extremism and societal violence. Launius's clarity and focus on this theme sets *Doniphan* apart from many less unified biographies. The happy result is a crisp, coherent account of Doniphan's adventures as defense attorney, political strategist and peacemaker, state legislator, senior militia officer, and borderland entrepreneur-investor. In the process, Launius sheds light (from a Missouri perspective) on the Mexican War, collapse of the Whig Party, Bleeding Kansas, the near-dissolution of the Union, the prosecution of the Civil War and Reconstruction, and the development of the Gilded Age.

Most relevant to the *Journal of Mormon History's* readers is Doniphan's 1830s role as attorney-advocate for Joseph Smith Jr., Orrin Porter Rockwell, and others, including the complexities of Doniphan's monumentally courageous refusal as a Missouri militia brigadier to execute Smith and six senior colleagues at Far West in 1838. Doniphan himself left no written description or subsequent comment of this event, and Launius, unaccountably, does not cite Joseph Smith III's 1884 visit to Doniphan in Richmond with his brother Alexander. They thanked Doniphan, then asked how he had the courage to take this stand as such a young man. Doniphan replied "that it was because of that very youth; that he had come of a long-lived race, would doubtless live to a good old age, and felt that he could not afford to go through a long life with the blood of helpless fellow men upon his hands."¹ Launius covers this formative stage of Doniphan's legal and military career in one and one-half of his thirteen chapters. A particularly valuable contribution to understanding the Mormon War of 1838 is Launius's careful sorting out of the many militia groups and their command relationship to each other. Since many histories simply divide the antagonists into Mormons and Missouri "mob," this depth of detail more accurately reflects the complexities of that complex conflict.

Virtually half the book is devoted to Doniphan's Mexican War role as elected colonel/commander of the First Missouri Regiment of Mounted Volunteers, a highly successful experience that Doniphan and others judged to be the great adventure and capstone achievement of his long, colorful life. In six chapters Launius takes the reader briskly through the regiment's formation in Missouri and entrance into federal service at Fort Leavenworth in June 1846; its participation in Brevet Brigadier General Stephen Watts Kearny's march down the Santa Fe Trail and bloodless seizure of New Mexico; Kearny's departure for California with the Army of the West; Doniphan's construction of a hybrid legal code to govern and Americanize the thinly garrisoned New Mexico; his prosecution—at Kearny's insistence—of a largely futile punitive expedition against the Navajos; and his own departure in December 1846 from Santa Fe under vague orders to rendezvous with Brevet Major General John E. Wool at Chihuahua City. What followed was an epic march south during which Doniphan and his regiment cut their own communications/supply lines, twice emerged victorious from significant battles, and took Chihuahua's capital without a struggle on 1 March 1847. After weeks of uneasy occupation and many attempts to locate Wool, the First Missouri was ordered east

¹ *The Memoirs of President Joseph Smith III* (1832-1914), edited by Richard P. Howard (Independence: Herald Publishing House, 1979), 35-36.

to Saltillo, Coahuila—Wool’s and Zachary Taylor’s headquarters following their great victory at Buena Vista—then marched to the Rio Grande’s mouth, took ship for New Orleans, and was mustered out on 28 June 1847. It was, according to Launius’s estimates, an epic 3,600-mile journey that lasted a year. He describes Doniphan’s view of this experience:

Doniphan believed he was part of a great army of manifest destiny sent from a republican Anglo-Saxon nation to free a people under the domination of a dictator, Santa Anna. The war was the singular event of his life, and Doniphan appropriately talked about his role in it as an act of conquest. However, he contended that it more appropriately represented an act of kindness, done out of a sense of duty to help his fellow man in the Southwest. (83)

The remaining four chapters cover the most puzzling aspect of “Will” Doniphan’s life—his forty-year refusal to seek statewide or national office despite his status in 1847 as a war hero well known in Missouri. Instead, he focused on rebuilding his law practice and health while assuming a behind-the-scenes role as Whig Party strategist/king-maker. As the Whigs collapsed before the Civil War, Doniphan’s passion for civility and moderation led him successively and briefly into an unlikely affiliation with the American (“Know-Nothing”) Party, then into the Constitutional Union Party, into supporting 1860 presidential candidate John Bell, and an ill-fated February 1861 conference in Washington, D.C., on national reconciliation.

With the onset of the Civil War, Doniphan’s love for the Union, affinity for the South, and respect for the property rights of his fellow slaveholders led him to choose neutrality, a controversial path that produced a wide range of emotions in secessionists as well as Unionists. He worked unsuccessfully for a statewide system of gradual emancipation while his part of western Missouri descended into barbaric guerrilla warfare with a ferocity unmatched elsewhere in the nation. Doniphan moved east to the relative calm of St. Louis in 1863 as civilian claims agent for Missouri’s war widows and orphans.

After Appomattox, Doniphan moved to Richmond, Ray County, where he spent the remaining twenty years of his life as a successful attorney, short-line railroad developer, and local bank founder-president. Repelled by Republican excesses, he became a political Democrat, the honored (but somewhat faded) hero of an earlier war. He also lost his long-standing, Whiggish belief in the progressive, benevolent role of the federal government:

This [“Bourbon”] perspective squared well with Doniphan’s new cynical perspective on government. Instead of the “positive liberal state” of the Whigs, embracing Federal action to bring about a better society and nation, Doniphan had seen what the full weight of federal power could accomplish when marshaled for the accomplishment of a specific political and social agenda—the Republican efforts

then underway and it terrified him. Earlier Doniphan had viewed the power of the national government as a tool to effect positive change; after the Civil War he perceived it as something deserving circumscription because of the horrors it had inflicted on the people of Missouri. (268)

Doniphan died at age seventy-nine in a Richmond boarding house to which he had retired after the deaths of his wife and both sons.

If Launius succeeds in presenting a fascinating adventure story as well as a detailed account of Doniphan's public/professional career, he has done less well in conveying Doniphan's interior life. Whether this imbalance reflects limitations in available source materials or the biographer's emphasis is difficult to determine. Still, the reader is left wondering what Doniphan, a devout Christian, really thought about his Mormon clients. The book's only reference to Mormons after 1839 is a two-sentence description of Doniphan's 1874 visit to and warm welcome in Salt Lake City (277). Unaccountably, Launius makes no reference to the Mormon Battalion, even though it closely followed Doniphan's and Sterling Price's regiments on the Santa Fe Trail during the summer of 1846, fell briefly under Doniphan's jurisdiction, and subsequently executed on foot a march probably longer and harder than the First Missouri's mounted achievement.

I was also disappointed to find no discussion of the very strong (but ultimately unfounded) 1852 rumors that Fillmore intended to appoint Doniphan as governor to replace Brigham Young, a prospect greeted positively in Salt Lake Valley. Young himself stated that he would ride out to greet Doniphan in that case.² Similarly missing are Doniphan's views on the Utah War of 1857-58, for which the army assembled two brigades at Fort Leavenworth near his own home. It is interesting that Thomas L. Kane rather than Doniphan assumed the role of peacemaker in this conflict.

Aside from Mormon affairs, we also lack substantive insight into Doniphan's philosophical/moral views on slavery, his relations with his own five chattels, how the Doniphans functioned as a family, and what the deaths of his wife and children meant to Doniphan. More relevant to the book's focus, notwithstanding repeated assertions of Doniphan's moderation, is the fundamental source of that moderation. Launius explains that Henry Clay was Doniphan's early hero but does not develop that insight through a linkage to Doniphan's political beliefs. How comfortable was Doniphan at interacting with the highly immoderate Know-Nothings?

I also found the writing and editing uneven. The seven chapters consti-

² Thomas Bullock, Letter to J. M. Grant, Great Salt Lake City, 28 April 1852, cited in Gwynn W. Barrett, "John M. Bernhisel: Mormon Elder in Congress" (Ph.D. diss., BYU, 1968), 120 note 9.

tuting the book's opening and closing sections are generally clear, fluent, and, at times, even eloquent. The dust jacket summary is a model of clarity that closely tracks what *Doniphan* delivers; and the book's typography, paper quality, and design are aesthetically pleasing, although the absence of maps depicting Missouri (especially its important northwestern counties) and the First Missouri's line of march are lamentable. Writing in the Mexican War section seemed rougher, marred by more awkward flow, modernisms, colloquialisms, malapropisms, inappropriate military terminology, and occasional inaccuracies. For example, he refers to "hauling" (draught) animals, the "ardors" (rigors) of travel, Doniphan's uniform and "the jewelry of his station," a battery served by "attendants" (artillerymen, gunners, or crew), howitzers that are "unslung" (unlimbered), and a private soldier who "resigns" (seeks discharge) (95, 98, 127, 135, 165, 114). Particularly jarring were modernisms: "tag team," "cutting edge," "a performance that would have won awards on Broadway," "quick fix," "launching pad," and "shake and bake" (26, 36, 70, 118, 86, 156). Even Launius's description of Doniphan's refusal to execute Joseph Smith Jr. is couched in an awkward expansion of Ernest Hemingway's definition of courage ("grace under pressure") as "a representation of courage under pressure and grace in a graceless age" (72).

Aside from matters of phrasing, Launius describes the subsequent career of the First Missouri's Lieutenant Colonel Charles F. Ruff, an unpopular regular, too dismissively.³ Similarly Launius confines his description of the First Missouri's Major William Gilpin's pre-1846 military background to his brief, unsuccessful stint as a West Point cadet without recognizing Gilpin's subsequent two years as a lieutenant with the tough U.S. Second Dragoons. Finally, although the author is technically correct in asserting that Kearny was unaware of Fremont's and Stockton's seizure of California when he departed from Santa Fe on 25 September 1846, Kearny learned about it eleven days later when he encountered Kit Carson.

Although a better source for students of the Mexican War would be Joseph G. Dawson III, *Doniphan's Epic March: The 1st Missouri Volunteers in the Mexican War* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1999), *Doniphan* is well worth reading for a general audience seeking an understanding of one of Missouri's prominent yet puzzling nineteenth-century leaders.

³ To his credit, Ruff served with the elite U.S. Regiment of Mounted Riflemen in both Indian campaigns on the south plains and on its epic 1849 march the full length of the Oregon Trail. He was breveted ("gallantry and meritorious conduct") for his key role at San Juan de los Llanos late in the Mexican War and subsequently commanded Fort Kearny.

LDS/RLDS readers expecting new insights into Mormon experiences in Missouri will be largely disappointed, although the experiences are profitably revisited through Launius's fast-moving narrative.

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Jan Shipps and John W. Welch, eds. *The Journals of William E. McLellin, 1831-1836*. Provo, Utah: BYU Studies/Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994. xxi + 520 pp. Maps, illustrations, appendices, biographical register, gazetteer, scripture index, subject index. \$29.95. ISBN 0-8425-2316-2

Reviewed by Marjorie Newton

Editors Jan Shipps and John W. Welch, using the resources of the two universities with which they are associated (Indiana University-Purdue University of Indianapolis and Brigham Young University), have produced a superbly edited volume of William E. McLellin's recently discovered missionary journals. The format of this award-winning book is ideal for the task at hand. Thought-provoking introductory essays by the editors are followed by the annotated text of the six McLellin journals. These in turn are followed by four supplementary essays: Richard E. Turley Jr. recounts the provenance of the journals; William G. Hartley contributes a fine interpretive essay, helping the reader understand their historical significance; Larry C. Porter provides a sympathetic biography that brings together all known information about McLellin, the "stormy petrel" (in Dale Morgan's phrase) and "arch-apostate" (340) of early Mormonism, illuminating previously known biographical data with selected quotes from the journals; and finally, M. Teresa Baer thoroughly analyses McLellin's missionary work. Helpful appendices and such extras as clear, detailed maps, a biographical register, a gazetteer, and exhaustive indexes are added. Between all the contributors, almost every conceivable question is answered.

However, when one contemplates Peter's stirring address at Pentecost, Paul's magnificent sermon on Mars Hill, and Luke's frank reporting of major disagreements among the primitive Twelve, Welch's claim that these journals constitute a modern "Acts of the Apostles" (14) seems somewhat

hyperbolic. Unlike the original book of Acts, McLellin's journals deal with no major contemporary issues or events of the early LDS Church, neither those which involved McLellin himself (such as his abortive attempt to write a revelation or his experiences as a member of Zion's Camp) nor those which affected the whole Church (such as the dedication of the Kirtland temple). The journals are replete with sermon topics and scripture texts, but as Welch himself admits, "We are left to wonder exactly what he said about these important themes" (23).

What the journals do is, of course, more important than what they don't do. As Shippo notes, they confirm that early Mormonism was rooted in the "familiar framework" of Christianity as understood and practised in Jacksonian America. She notes that these journals give the first account of the operations of the fledgling Church away from the well-documented centres at Kirtland and Independence, providing a previously lacking balance in Mormon historiography. Shippo also notes that McLellin's journals clearly confirm the existence of a "religious marketplace" in America at this time (5).

It is fascinating to discover from McLellin's diaries the extent to which the Mormon message had penetrated the Eastern States and the mid-West by the mid-1830s. While many new converts gravitated, like McLellin himself, to either Kirtland or Independence, others remained in their home towns and villages, to be gradually organized into branches. Legendary Mormon figures wander in and out of these pages. As well as having two of the Prophet's brothers as missionary companions (Hyrum and Samuel), McLellin records travelling with or meeting Parley P. Pratt, Orson Hyde, Brigham Young, William Smith and Joseph Smith himself. As Hartley points out (267-269), McLellin's diaries not only record his own doings; they fill gaps in our knowledge of the Prophet's day-to-day activities in the 1830s.

Although McLellin's brevity is frustrating at times, his journals contain little vignettes that bring the journalist to vivid (and very human) life. We see him swimming rain-swollen creeks (44), shutting his eyes in order to "swallow down" some unsavoury and unhygienically prepared food (122), and conversing with a woman who, despite being a Roman Catholic, unaccountably managed to be "quite reasonable and senseable" (64). We watch McLellin literally shaking the dust of a town from his feet after some "wicked wretches" interrupt his sermon (72). We see him somewhat petulantly bidding some unbelievers "fare-ill" instead of "farewell" (117-118). We sense both his satisfaction when one of a group of lads skylarking "very wickedly" at a baptismal service falls into the water (175) and his uneasiness when a woman, whom the missionaries are giving a lift to town, sits on his lap (187).

Despite his strictures on the “wicked wretches” who heckled him, McLellin usually comes over as kindly and tolerant, never more so than in his philosophical acceptance of convert Nancy Simmons’s decision to follow her own conscience and desires. “She had lost her faith, retraced her steps and gone back and joined the Methodists again—I ref[li]ected that she had vountarily joined us she had vountarily left us and I’d vountarily let her go. Consequently,” he added, “I gave myself no trouble about it” (122), a sentiment perhaps made easier by McLellin’s remembrance of the unspecified doubts which had led him to forsake his second mission some fifteen months earlier “until I was satisfied in my own mind” (73).

The editors do not address the issue of retrospectivity, even though examples abound: “Thence we traveled a North East coarse for two days and a half until we reached [Winchester]. . . . We were with them several days and before we left them . . . ” (44); “Thursday evening afternoon we attended our appointment” and “We went to Mr. Barnum’s that night” (62); “We went Saturday morning to our appointment” (67); “28th February January 1833 . . . Consequently we had taken no money . . . for our journey” (89); and “In this town I continued until Saturday the 13th during which I preached 12 times and baptized 6 persons” (152). The reader who has not examined the original journals is left wondering how much later some entries were written, and whether the surviving journals show evidence of self-editings, copying, or amendments from earlier drafts. The editors also do not mention any changes in the quality and colour of the ink. (With daily entries, one would expect frequent changes; I have read purportedly daily journals in which several years are covered with the same ink, strong evidence that it was not only retrospective but possibly edited or at least copied from the original version.)

While there is a high degree of consistency among the six authors (Shipps, Welch, Hartley, Porter, Turley, and Baer) and the research and editorial teams, there are a few small errors in the annotations to the journals. For instance, according to note 1 to Journal IV (154), McLellin moved from Independence with his second wife, Emeline, and infant daughter in 1833; yet note 3 one page later (155) and Porter’s biographical sketch (303) identify the couple’s first child not only as a son (Charles William) but also as being born in Clay County in April 1834 after the McLellins left Independence. In an entry dated Sunday, October 12, 1834 (Journal IV), McLellin records addressing a small congregation on “the establishment of the Church of the ‘latter day saints.’” Note 42 (160) reports that this is McLellin’s first recorded use of the newly adopted name of the Church. However, McLellin’s diary entry for August 5, 1834 (132) records that he preached “on the rise and establishment of the church of the Latter day Saints” just three months after the new name for the organization was

adopted. The editors insert the spelling “H[untsburgh]” three times (153), while McLellin himself (when he spelled it in full), plus the annotation team and those who prepared the maps and gazetteer all list it as Huntsburg (130, 152, 167, 483). An ingenuous note confesses that the BYU annotation team did not know what McLellin meant by travelling to Cleveland in a “Derborn” (140). Surely, it would have been possible to consider McLellin’s phonetic spellings and have consulted a good dictionary. (A “dearborn” was a light, four-wheeled buggy named for General Henry Dearborn, 1751-1859.) Note 63 (165) for the December 22, 1834, entry (152) begins: “Between this entry and the next on January 22, 1835 . . .”; two entries, however, follow, one dated January 17 and the next simply headed “Sun[day].”

But these are trifling flaws in a book that holds the reader’s attention to the last page. The reader feels the immediacy and urgency of the millennial message carried by the Church’s first missionaries, experiences their successes and disappointments together with the flowering of spiritual gifts among missionaries and members alike, and even the doubts, perplexities, and hardships that assailed them. This book is a must for lovers of Mormon history and should be in every LDS meetinghouse library as well as in college and community collections on Mormonism. It is that rare achievement, a book that is both a standard reference book and pleasurable to read.

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C. Mark Hamilton. *Nineteenth-Century Mormon Architecture and City Planning*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995. xvii + 203 pp. Illustrations, maps, drawings, notes, bibliography, index. \$72.00 ISBN 0-19-507505-6

Reviewed by Karl Haglund

A century ago William Morris asserted that architecture included “the whole of the external surroundings of the life of man.” Mark Hamilton’s book reflects the recent embrace of Morris’s expansive definition by architectural historians. A professor at Brigham Young University, Hamilton aspires to survey, in 140 pages of text and 135 illustrations, all of nineteenth-century Mormon architecture—not only all of the buildings constructed by the

Church, but every edifice erected by its members—and the town planning of over five hundred settlements from Ohio to the Great Basin.

The book's starting point is a fundamental principle set forth early in the Church's history:

Zion and its establishment was the driving force behind Mormonism. It also formed the basis for Mormon city planning and building types. The early material experiments in Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois, and influx of converts from Europe influenced subsequent communities and architectural forms in Utah and elsewhere. A knowledge of the doctrinal concept of Zion and its application is the key to understanding nineteenth-century Mormon material cultural [sic] (v).

The introductory chapter outlines the history of the Church from its founding through the turn of the century. "Zion and Mormon City Planning" is the subject of the second chapter. The balance of the book is organized by building types: temples, tabernacles, meetinghouses, domestic architecture, and what Hamilton calls "associated buildings" (the Salt Lake Endowment House, priesthood and Relief Society halls, and tithing offices) and "peripheral buildings" (educational, commercial, cultural, and government structures). The selection of buildings was based on a preference for "extant monuments," to encourage their preservation (vi). Contemporary photographs by the author, a small number of historic prints, plats of Mormon towns, and far too few building plans and elevations are grouped at the end of each chapter. (The limited number of drawings, perhaps dictated by the publisher, seems an unfortunate and false economy.) In its discussion and illustration of a full range of building types, the book represents the most comprehensive examination of Mormon architecture yet published.

Yet these structures, to bend a perfectly fine children's lyric, seem to be set in an almost empty landscape: "Here is the church, here is the steeple, here are the styles—but where are the people?" A few Church leaders, builders, and architects appear, examples of domestic architecture are named (always after men), but there is very little sense of people dwelling in these spaces. Instead, the author makes baffling generalizations about nineteenth-century Saints that seem to contradict the book's own evidence. Their devotion to Zion, for example, is said to be "nowhere more evident than in the planned layout of their communities" (30). Yet the platting of towns and the designation of temple sites were done by Church leaders; the commitment of the community came later, in the willingness of people to turn those plats into towns and to build homes and farms, meetinghouses and schools—and extraordinary tabernacles and temples.

A number of significant historical studies, missing from Hamilton's bibliography, vividly describe the life in these landscapes. There is no need

to speculate that separate Relief Society halls allowed imaginary women to work on "designated projects, such as the preparation and manufacture of wearing apparel and other items for those in need, from one day to the next without having to set the projects aside" (97); a review of Jill Mulvey Derr, Janath Russell Cannon, and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher's *Women of Covenant: The Story of Relief Society* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1992), would have turned up real women building the first "Society Hall" in Salt Lake City's Fifteenth Ward, making and selling clothing while they read the scriptures, Parley P. Pratt's *Key to the Science of Theology*, and periodicals such as *Woman and Her Era*. The discussion of school buildings and their architects would have benefitted from a reading of Derr's "Zion's Schoolmarms" (in Claudia L. Bushman, ed., *Mormon Sisters* [Cambridge, Mass.: Emmeline Press, 1976], 67-87). There are no references to *Mormon Country* (New York: Duell, Sloane & Pearce, 1942), Wallace Stegner's evocation of a Mormon town in its best years; or to Edward Geary's *Good-bye to Poplarhaven* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1985) which laments the decline of those towns. Thomas Carter argued convincingly for the richness and complexity of local building traditions, "Building Zion: Folk Architecture in the Mormon Settlements of Utah Sanpete Valley, 1850-1890" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1984), the single most important research to date on nineteenth-century Mormon vernacular architecture.

Connecting these inhabited landscapes to Joseph Smith's expanding vision of Zion is no easy task, especially without any reference to major works like Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Fox, and Dean L. May's *Building the City of God* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), or to Steven Olsen's articles and dissertation on "The Mormon Ideology of Place: Cosmic Symbolism of the City of Zion, 1830-1846" (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1985). Hamilton's thesis implies (perhaps unintentionally) a clear, deductive process: Joseph Smith worked out the idea of Zion, then drew out of that doctrine a city form and a set of building types. In fact, the revelations and the events of the 1830s and 1840s suggest that there was as much—perhaps more—movement in the opposite direction. The meaning of Zion was revealed not in theological exposition, but in action: dedicating the site for the first temple, drafting the plat for the City of Zion, designing successively more cosmic iterations of the temple, and settling the Great Basin.

The crucial missing text in Hamilton's narrative is the story of Enoch the prophet. Barely mentioned in the Old Testament, Enoch fills two chapters of the Book of Moses, part of Joseph Smith's unfinished translation of the Bible published in 1830 (Pearl of Great Price, Moses 6-7). In Enoch's "City of Holiness," also called Zion, the people "were of one heart and one mind, and dwelt in righteousness; and there was no poor among them."

Because “Enoch and all his people walked with God,” Zion was taken up into heaven (Moses 7:18, 69).

In the revelations to the Saints in 1830, the latter-day Zion was an unknown “place of inheritance” and an undefined “cause” for which the gospel was restored. By the middle of the following year, Independence, Missouri, was designated the “center place” of the new Zion and a temple site was dedicated there. The principle of “gathering” became the vehicle to establish a new Zion, which would be united with the city of Enoch before the millennium (D&C 25:2; 38:19-20; 57:1-3). Included with the 1833 “Plat for the City of Zion” were sketches of the first Mormon temple, the ultimate object of the gathering and the visual and spiritual center of Zion. While Mormon meetinghouses, schools, domestic structures, and tabernacles borrowed common architectural forms, the temple was a building type new to the modern world.

Since the first temple was built in Kirtland, latter-day temples have puzzled outsiders. It only increases the reader’s confusion to suggest that “according to Mormon doctrine, [no temples] have been built to function as temples did in the times written of in the Bible or the Book of Mormon” (33). As James E. Talmage noted in *The House of the Lord* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1912), we know little about the construction and less about the ordinances of Book of Mormon temples. Talmage’s book was written to explain the temple to “earnest inquirers” and includes a general description of temple ceremonies (illustrated by thirty interior photographs of the Salt Lake Temple), but his book is not widely known outside the Church.

In the past two decades, three of the four nineteenth-century Utah temples have been renovated, and open houses were held before the temples were rededicated. Some visitors to the public open houses were bewildered to find that these large structures are strikingly different from the cathedrals and monuments of other religions, without interior spaces on the scale of their exterior dimensions. Temples do *not*, contrary to Hamilton’s view, represent “God’s earthly presence, in the sense of medieval Gothic cathedrals” (33). They are not built around a single, awe-inspiring space but are organized as a series of smaller rooms designed for the performance of marriages and other ceremonies, and for the presentation of the “temple endowment,” a course of instruction in the dispensations of the gospel. Following Talmage and Richard Cowan’s article on temples in the *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, Hamilton describes (and here of all places additional plans and interior photographs would be essential to understanding) how the Logan Temple introduced an arrangement of ordinance rooms “in a progressive circular pattern that eased the movement of people from one area to another, helping to facilitate the endowment service” (49).

But this change in the interior design was much more than functional; together with a dramatic variation in the proportions of the rooms, the new design created architectural forms that heightened the sense of symbolic passage from time to timelessness.

The history of Mormon architecture that remains to be written would encompass a full range of building plans, illustrations, and human experience. It would link the city of Enoch and the architecture of the temples with the lives of the Saints and their expanding prophetic vision of the "City of Zion."

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Jessie L. Embry. *Asian American Mormons: Bridging Cultures*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1999. viii + 147 pp. Tables, notes, appendices, index. \$14.95 paper. ISBN 0-8425-2399-5

Reviewed by Armand L. Mauss

Jessie Embry heads the Ethnic Oral History Project and is the assistant director of BYU's Charles Redd Center for Western Studies. She has devoted much of her time in that capacity to building unique and valuable collections of oral histories taken from interviews with hundreds of Latter-day Saints from various ethnic groups in the United States and Canada. To provide readers with at least some access to these interviews, she has published three books based upon them: This one, *Black Saints in a White Church: Contemporary African American Mormons* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1995) and "In His Own Language:" *Mormon Spanish-speaking Congregations in the United States* (Provo: Redd Center, 1997).

Asian American Mormons has eight chapters, plus three useful appendices that list the names of both interviewees and interviewers, dates and places of the interviews, a schedule of the standard questions structuring each interview, and a coding guide for rendering the interview data into digital (quantifiable) form. The first chapter describes the Redd Center's Oral History Project. The second surveys LDS missionary work in Asia and some of conversion's important implications (both positive and negative) for Asian converts. The third reviews the motivations, advantages, and disadvantages of the immigrant experience, with the specific LDS case appropri-

ately placed within the context of the more general Asian immigrant experience in the United States. The fourth chapter reviews some of the more obvious forms of the culture clash between the Asian and American settings. None of these chapters is a systematic treatment of the topic but rather a glimpse at the experiences of Asian Saints expressed in their own words. They find their experiences especially startling when the subject is differential dating customs or relations between the sexes. Thus, "there is no such thing as dating" for a young Thai LDS daughter. "Your dates are not going to start when you're sixteen"—the minimum age suggested by Church policy—but only "when you finish . . . college" (57). For a young Japanese sister, marriage had been a minor issue in her country, but "here (in Utah) people are getting married all over. I feel pressured because they always talk about it. Some people get married because they love the idea of being married" (56).

The next three chapters explore Asian Saints' reactions to various aspects of the Church policy toward ethnic congregations in the United States. That policy has moved like a pendulum back and forth between whole-hearted support and systematic repression, depending on the preferences not only of different Church presidents but even of different stake presidents. To this very day, it is difficult to find a consistent policy, even though there remained, as of 1996, more than 400 LDS foreign-language congregations in the United States, most of them Spanish-speaking. Here again, Embry supplies context by citing research on Roman Catholic ethnic congregations. The final chapter is a somewhat troubling review of Asian members' perceptions of their relationships with Caucasian members. While two-thirds of the Asian Saints report feeling fully accepted, many others report distressing instances of apparent bigotry, particularly where intermarriage occurs. The Utah setting, contrasted to other areas of the United States, comes in for special criticism.

In assessing the contribution of books like this, the reader must recognize their fundamental purpose and their inherent limitations as works of history. They are not intended as either systematic or interpretive history. They represent simply the first stage in preparing the oral histories for perhaps such eventual uses. The author has combed through the numerous interviews to identify recurrent themes and tentative generalizations in the experiences of LDS ethnic groups in North America. She has illustrated those themes and generalizations with selected excerpts from the interviews themselves, which provide the reader with samples of the richness and detail awaiting those who consult the transcripts for their own research.

There are other limitations, as well. The interviewees are mainly ethnic Mormons who have retained their ties to the Church and are willing and able to talk about their experiences, mostly in English. The disaffected are

barely represented, although the interviewees report enough disappointments and difficulties to indicate the most typical problems. Another limitation is geographical. Budget constraints dictated that the oral history project drew its informants mainly from the West and especially from Utah. Of the 108 Asian American Mormons represented here, for example, all but 29 were interviewed in Utah, and virtually all the rest were in California or in the Washington, D.C., area. Half of the respondents were of either Japanese or Chinese origin (including Taiwan and Hong Kong), and the rest were from either Korea or southeast Asian countries. Only two were American-born.

The author in no way implies homogeneity among such diverse cultures. She is well aware that there is at least as much cultural diversity and historical animosity among Asians as among Europeans. Yet, as among Europeans (and Euro-Americans), there are also certain commonalities and similarities among Asians in religious heritage, language, and even physical appearance. Several interviewees acknowledged as much as they evaluated their various "comfort levels" in some of the generic "Asian" branches or wards, as compared to the "integrated" ones. While such generic congregations are inevitably somewhat contrived, still many Asians (but not all) feel somewhat more comfortable with those who look more like them than do the tall, blond Utah Mormons, even where their languages are vastly different.

Language, indeed, remains a central question across time in the vagaries of Church policy on ethnic branches. Is language the main justification for separate ethnic branches and wards? Or is it some notion of cultural homogeneity? If it is language, what sense does it make to lump together Asians who speak several different languages? (Even the two major dialects of spoken Chinese are mutually incomprehensible). If the main consideration is cultural "similarities," regardless of language differences, then the Church policy seems based upon an implicit assumption that "brown" Saints will get along better with each other than with "white" Saints—an assumption that frankly smacks of old-fashioned racism and segregation (103).

As Embry makes clear, different Church leaders have offered different rationales for their positions, pro and con, on ethnic congregations. The late Seventy Paul H. Dunn (1988) was an advocate for "mainstreaming" because we are all "a great eternal family," no matter what our color or culture. In contrast, Seventy John Groberg (1992) defended ethnic units, arguing: "Our prime role . . . is not to teach people English or how to become American. . . . We declare Christ, not English" (63). The late President Spencer W. Kimball seems to have agreed, citing the "good

feelings" found in ethnic congregations, plus the opportunity for ethnic groups to "worship in their own tongue" (65-66).

Embry's interviews with the Asian Saints make clear that they recognize both advantages and disadvantages in the dual policies (chap. 7). If the ethnic branches and wards facilitate internal communication and sociability through language commonalities and cultural similarities, they also often lack adequate leadership and lesson materials, and perpetuate the gulf between English-speaking and non-English-speaking Saints and leaders. On the other hand, the richer and more sophisticated teaching materials and methods in integrated congregations don't help the ethnic Saints if they can't understand the language. Nor are they likely to enjoy meetings where they feel culturally and socially isolated. A 1990 study found that when Catholics abolished ethnic parishes in favor of geography-based "mainstreaming," many ethnic Catholics simply joined Protestant ethnic congregations.

The dilemmas are complex, so it is easy to understand why LDS Church policy across the years has changed so frequently. The new immigration to the United States (especially from Asia and Latin America) that began in the 1970s, combined with increased LDS missionary success in those same areas, will only intensify the dilemmas. We will probably hear about several more turns in policy to cope with them. Meanwhile, we are indebted to Jessie Embry for sharing with us the feelings at the grassroots. With hundreds of these interviews from various ethnic groups now on file at the Redd Center, perhaps a future social scientist or two can undertake some theory-driven studies of identity negotiation and construction among ethnic groups in a universal church, or organizational studies of how the dilemmas revealed here are affected (and perpetuated) by competing ecclesiastical interest groups. Such rich data cry out for the social scientist's touch.

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BOOK NOTICES

The Journal of Mormon History invites contributions to this department, particularly of privately published family histories, local histories, biographies, other publications of limited circulation, or those in which Mormonism is dealt with as a part or minor theme.

Glen M. Leonard. *A History of Davis County*. Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Davis County Commission, 1999. xiv + 436 pp. Maps, photographs, notes, bibliography. \$19.95. ISBN 0-913739-43-3

Davis County, the smallest in acreage in Utah but third in population density, is, in native son Glen Leonard's phrase, "the land in-between" (1). A glance at the map explains why: it is sandwiched between the Wasatch Range on the east and the Great Salt Lake on the west.

Incidentally, several books in this series make do with a single map, but Leonard includes Stansbury's historic map of one of the earliest accurate surveys of the lake and a much-appreciated map showing the location and relationship to each other of the Davis County Creeks. In addition to their importance during the early settlement phase, they become important again when a series of flash floods and mudslides roared out of the canyons in the early twentieth century, compelling comprehensive flood control measures that were largely put in place with labor supplied by the CCC and convicts (324-29).

Leonard tells the story of Davis County's early settlement and rich agricultural history well and moves briskly and matter-of-factly through the Morrisite War, a colorful though distressing episode involving religious dissidence put down with armed force by the Mormon militia that resulted in the accidental deaths of four women,

whom Leonard does not name, and two of the male leaders.

Of considerable interest is the Mormon Reformation of 1856-57, in which Jedediah M. Grant conducted a series of three-day conferences, lecturing the congregations on their shortcomings, and resulting in the rebaptisms of hundreds. In Bountiful,

Grant declared that half the congregation had never been converted in the first place. His inaugural sermon, delivered in the local bowery, charged "the people of Bountiful with being as cold as the ice of the Polar regions; that they had been in a deep sleep, and were still asleep." Other speakers endorsed the reproof as justified and recited the problems: ingratitude, avarice, covetousness, lethargy, pride, and backsliding.

Apparently considering them unworthy of rebaptism in their present state, Grant put the bishop in charge of completing their reformation and left (64).

Other interesting stories from the primarily Mormon period involve the move south during the Utah War, which affected the entire population; the experiment with sericulture, in which Davis County sisters took a surprisingly large role, and the impact on the county of the polygamy prosecutions. John Taylor died in hiding in Davis County, and Leonard quotes one resident who read the Woodruff Manifesto largely as a public relations measure: "We have to shut down on plural marriages for a season, and Uncle Sam will have to howl" (178).

Leonard also documents that 80 percent of the county residents were LDS in 1940. The enormous influx of ethnic minorities during the war both to provide farm labor and to work in the gigantic defense industries built over thousands of acres of rich farmland showed up in the census of 1950 in which Mormons constituted only 72 percent of the population. However, as Leonard points out, "raw numbers" of Latter-day Saints increased greatly. In 1940, there were nineteen wards and two stakes. In 1999, the county numbered 353 wards in forty-nine stakes (386). The Davis School District's board was also the first in the state to adopt a comprehensive policy addressing religion" (387).

Two vignettes capture both the reluctance of established Davis County residents to accept newcomers and their innate sense of fairness. When an old settler prayed "protect us from the transients among us," in 1944, a Mormon from Park City who was working at the navel base, understood the reference to indicate him and moved his family as soon as he could obtain other housing (344). However, more to the credit of Davis County, a Mormon farmer who was selling land to a Japanese American, threatened to take his business to a different bank if his Layton bank refused to finance the loan; the bank changed its policy (346).

A particular strength of Leonard's approach is his ability to interpret meaningful data from public records like censuses. We understand a lot from knowing that

the 1850 census reported an oxen population of 616—"enough for each farm to have four[;] . . . only 20 percent of farms reported having no oxen" (102).

Leonard is commendably equitable in treating the trade-off between the impressive productivity of Davis County's past (20 tons of tomatoes to the acre, 250 bushels of potatoes, and 600 bags of onions [241]), and its urban and suburban present (which he insightfully ascribes to the post-war Los Angeles revolution of freeways, ranch hoses, and backyard swimming pools [356]).

Richard A. Firmage. *A History of Grand County*. Salt Lake City: Grand County and the Utah State Historical Society, 1996. xvii + 438 pp. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$19.95. 0-913728-03-4

Richard A. Firmage notes, "Grand County has always been an easier place to visit than to wrest a living from" (xiii). The county, part of Utah's Colorado Plateau region, is known for wide expanses of arid, largely rocky terrain. The need for water punctuates the perspective of anyone who has visited Grand County. This harsh land with its spectacular beauty contains vast mineral wealth.

Latter-day Saints first attempted to colonize the region in 1854-55. In October 1854 Mormon Church leaders sent a party of twelve men led by William Huntington and Jackson Stewart to ex-

plore the southeastern portion of today's Utah for possible areas of settlement and, if possible, to establish good relations with Navajo Indians. This was a dangerous assignment. The Huntington party was traveling into the heart of Ute country with only a handful of men. "We never felt more gloomy and doubtful, or undertook what appeared to a more hazardous work, during an experience of twenty years in this church," Huntington wrote (77).

After two months of exploring, the party returned to Salt Lake City reporting that they had found "a beautiful valley" with good soil and grazing range, "well-timbered and watered" (78). Brigham Young decided that the Church should sponsor a mission to the Indians at the foot of the La Sal Mountains. The Elk Mountain Mission and colonizing venture was led by Alfred N. Billings, assisted by Oliver B. Huntington. The party left from Manti with fifteen wagons in May 1854. Following a hard year, punctuated by Indian hostilities and an apparent lack of commitment on the part of the Mormon settlers/missionaries, the Elk Mountain Mission was abandoned in May 1855. It would be twenty years before any Mormons returned to the area.

The reluctance of settlers to come to Grand County may have been the result of unfavorable reports on the region in the *Deseret News*, claiming that the plateau land of southeastern Utah was "one vast contiguity of waste" (95). It was judged to be worthless except to nomadic Indians. Finally,

around the mid-1870s, Mormon ranchers began grazing their cattle in the region. George and Silas Green came from Levan in Juab County, bringing a herd of over 400 cattle. They took up residence in the abandoned Elk Mountain Mission fort but were killed in the winter of 1876-77, "probably by Indians" (103).

The year previous, a conference of the Sanpete Stake had decided to renew efforts to settle the eastern portion of county under Orange Seeley. However, not much happened until about 1880, although, as the author notes, "the Mormon Church did encourage its members to settle the general area" (109).

By February 1881 the LDS Church had organized the Mormons living in the Moab Valley as a ward in the Emery Stake. By April, Mormon bishop Randolph Stewart reported to the *Deseret News* that there were sixteen member families living at Moab. He estimated that the town could support "one hundred families" (114). By the later 1880s the Latter-day Saints of Grand County were coming under increased federal pressure because of polygamy. Yet, despite government suspicions, the author described Grand County as never a "major haven for polygamous Mormons" (129).

Grand County was officially created by the Utah Territorial legislature in 1890. Mormons have never dominated Grand County as thoroughly as they have other Utah counties. For example, as Firmage observes, adjoining "San Juan County was much more a homoge-

neous, Mormon-dominated society than was Grand County" (209). Still, "the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints remain[s] the major denomination in the county in terms of its number of members" (212).

Martha Sonntag Bradley. *A History of Kane County*. Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Kane County Commission, 1999. and + 380 pp. Notes, map, photographs, bibliography, index. \$19.95. ISBN 0-913738-40-9

Martha Sonntag Bradley, whose Mangum great-grandparents were among the earliest Mormon settlers of Kane County, is a graceful and eloquent writer, as the reader can tell from the first pages of her introduction:

Here, the land is clearly in charge. The land is forbidding, the weather sometimes violent and extreme. The environment and surroundings speak to centuries of changing geological conditions, climate, and history. The story of settlers who struggled to survive in such a harsh region is often dramatic, but it is always a story of fighters—those unwilling to leave and go to an easier place to survive. (2)

This history is organized chronologically: the geology, Indian inhabitants, the first attempt at settlement (unfortunately coinciding with the Black Hawk War) and the second, successful attempt during the 1870s. Orderville's unique communal lifestyle receives a

chapter by itself. Although most of the permanent residents were and are Mormons, the Mormon theme wanes, but does not disappear, during the last five chapters dealing with World War I, the depression, World War II, tourism and modernity, and an excellent summary of the last quarter-century of all-out conflict over land-use policies: the Glen Canyon Dam, grazing on BLM land, logging on the Kaibab plateau, proposed exploitation of the Kaiparowits coalfields, and President Bill Clinton's 1996 creation of the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument.

There is some inevitable repetition of themes between chapters and Bradley sometimes fails to supply careful identification of her characters. For example, Mormon history readers familiar with Edwin D. Woolley as the redoubtable bishop of Salt Lake City's Thirteenth Ward will be startled to find him heading efforts to turn the Kaibab Plateau into a hunting preserve for British aristocrats and driving the first automobile into Kanab in 1909, ten years before there was a passable auto road in the county (190-91). Finally, eighteen pages after his first mention, he is identified as Edwin Jr. (but after another reference without the "Jr." on the same page) (144).

Bradley's narrative is stuffed with vivid characters and flavorful descriptors of a county that, even in 1990, had fewer than 5200 people (351):

- Early Kane County had three different county seats, none of

which are even in the county to-day (Grafton, Rockville, and Toquerville) (58-59).

- Kane County dancers who swung their partners around "more than once" at the Saturday night dances in the 1870s had to ask forgiveness at church the next day, and the congregation voted whether to forgive them or not (87).
- As late as 1909, residents of Kanab had to haul their water in on a "lizard" (log sled) at 15-25 cents a barrel; even when the sediment was allowed to settle, it still turned the laundry a "distinctive pinkish tint" (139).
- Sytha S. Johnson's 1908-10 recipe for cheese includes these instructions: ". . . Next the curd was scalded until it 'squawked' when tested . . ." (165)
- In 1911, Mary Elizabeth Woolley Howard became the second woman in the United States to be elected a mayor. She and her town board—four women—were all married with children, and three of the women gave birth while in office. Although they were elected as a joke to highlight the triumph of voter apathy rather than feminism, they served their terms and initiated a significant number of civic reforms (175-77).
- When Kanab's first hospital opened in 1936, the doctor delivered its first baby without charge and nicknamed him "Freeborn" (208).
- In addition to more than two hundred Western movies that

used Kanab as a location, the walls of Jerusalem were constructed on Kane County's sands for filming significant scenes from *The Greatest Story Ever Told* in 1963 (232, 321).

Perhaps as objectively as anyone could, Bradley sums up the unending wrestle over land-use, beginning with a lively 1912 quotation: "Do we want to stay in the cattle and sheep raising business, or be lackeys for the big brewers, soap-makers, and stock gamblers and their wives, for the wages a tourist agency would pay?" (168) and quoting Roland Esplin's farewell to the livestock business in 1971:

"Government regulations a- long with hired help are almost forcing us to quit. A dead wool market kills the profit in sheep raising. Government interference is the worst however. When a man can't even protect his own livestock from predatory animals [mountain lions and coyotes] . . . it's time a man was quitting." Unmentioned in this analysis, however, was the fact that it was the free enterprise system the ranchers claimed to favor that was changing the market, reducing profitability, and raising wages for hired help, and that the grazing land in question was public land, not the ranchers' own land. . . . People readily accepted government assistance but then cried "interference" when changing policies did not favor their particular interest. (300)

County. Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Rich County Commission, 1996. 346 pp. Preface, introduction, photographs, selective bibliography, appendices, index. \$19.96. ISBN 0-913738-02-6

The boundaries of Richland County, Utah (name changed to Rich County in 1868), were created by the Utah Territorial Assembly in January 1866. Mormon apostle Charles C. Rich was placed in charge of the Bear Lake settlements following their establishment in 1863. Prior to the 1872 completion of the federal survey of the Utah and Idaho territories, the county court met at St. Charles (now in Idaho), then the Utah Territorial Assembly designated Randolph as the county seat.

But part of the motivation was religious politics as well. Brigham Young hoped that the Rich County settlements would block Gentile intrusions into Zion, but the discovery of minerals and the coming of the railroad guaranteed incursions by Gentiles in ways that both benefitted and dismayed the county's Mormon farmers. As Brigham Young had envisioned, however, agriculture remained the primary economic pursuit of Rich County's Mormon occupants and the basis for permanent settlement in the Bear Lake Valley.

"Only men with plenty of hair on 'em are tough enough to stand the climate of Bear Lake," observed Joseph C. Rich, Charles's son, in 1863 (xi). As Parson notes, "The path of outgoing settlers crosses the paths of other incom-

ing settlers," as new settlers, stunned by their first winter, packed up and left in the spring (54). Among the county's residents was future General Authority J. Golden Kimball, Salt Lake-born but, with other sons of Heber C. Kimball, a rancher in early manhood, in Meadowville.

Agricultural success in Rich County required extra effort from the county's Mormon settlers, but, as the author notes, "it was not an impossible proposition" (182). As they successfully battled natural calamities like grasshopper plagues and hard winters, the people of Rich County became ever more convinced that "God was indeed on their side and would intervene on their behalf" (183).

Church fellowship was supremely important in an isolated region such as the Bear Lake Valley. Generally hard-working and "passionately religious" (218), the predominantly Mormon farmers of Rich County came to epitomize "industry." Faith and conviction of purpose unified the little communities. In 1877 the Bear Lake Stake was organized; William Budge was called as stake president, an office he held for nearly thirty years. Chapter 7, "Religion and Life in Rich County," with its thorough examination of Mormonism, will be of particular interest to readers of the *Journal of Mormon History*.

Parson also records the "noticeable conflict" between Mormons and non-Mormons that developed over polygamy in Woodruff in the eastern county (221). This social conflict was exacerbated by the economic presence of the non-

Mormon mining and railroad towns of Almy and Evanston just across the border in Wyoming. Among the book's interesting offerings is its summary of local folklore on sightings of the Bear Lake Monster (Appendix D).

Robert S. McPherson. *A History of San Juan County: In the Palm of Time*. Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and San Juan County Commission, 1995. x + 419 pp. Photographs, endnotes, bibliography, index. \$19.95. ISBN 0-913738-01-8

San Juan County, Utah's virtually inaccessible southeastern corner, offers a history of Indians, Spanish explorers, mysterious ruins, an unexplored wilderness, pioneers, outlaws, secret cults, holy mountains, and great literature.

McPherson gives equal billing to San Juan's three peoples: Utes, Navajos, and Euro-Americans. He adds an equal amount of emphasis to the distinct, eerie, and formidable landscape that determines the life-style of every inhabitant who tries to live within its borders. And human beings have been there for over eight thousand years. To quote McPherson, "A hiker in San Juan County cannot move far beyond the paved streets and watered lawns of a town before encountering some type of prehistoric remains—potsherds, mounds, projectile points, or rock art" (27).

Fascinating narratives include

the story of Hole in the Rock; the 1918 flu epidemic and its effect on both Indians and Anglos; the ongoing struggle between progressives and wilderness supporters; religious dynamics between Mormons, Catholics, Native Americans, and others; and especially Chapter 16, "San Juan in the Imagination," describing the mythology and literature that speak "to a poetic side of the human soul" by major writers expressing their love of the land (371). Such writers include Wallace Stegner, Edward Abbey, poet Everett Ruess who disappeared into the wilderness, Tony Hillerman, and even Theodore Roosevelt.

A drawback, however, is the lack of usable maps. Those included are inadequate to allow the reader to locate the movement of the Anasazis, Father Escalante, or the Mormon settlements. Where was Marie Ogden's canyon? Where is Nauvoo Mountain?

David Hampshire, Martha Sonntag Bradley, and Allen Roberts. *A History of Summit County*. Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Summit County Commission, 1998. viii + 377. Notes, bibliography, index. \$19.95. ISBN 0-913738-46-8

Summit County, unlike many Utah counties, has been defined since its beginning by its mineral wealth. The authors report some evidence of Spanish exploration dating from 1517 with other inscriptions

from the 1660s. They follow up with the colorful history of Park City and the legendary Lost Rhoades Mine, all of which makes for involving reading.

Three chapters were particularly engrossing: the history of Park City (chap. 6), which unflinchingly reports the level of racial prejudice against Chinese residents, "Architecture and the Built Environment" (chap. 8), replete with stunning photographs of exquisite pioneer-era buildings, and the last chapter, recounting the power struggle over Summit County's future, land use policies, frank appeal to out-of-state skiers and tourists, and housing boom. Because of Summit County's history of non-Mormon appeal and occupation, the skill of the authors in dealing evenhandedly with competing claims, uneasy accommodations, and shifting victories is a particular achievement throughout the book.

Unfortunately, the index is very spotty, particularly on place names. A detail map for Chapter 7, a major examination of the highways and railroad routes, would have been helpful. More careful editing would have picked up the fact that Eliza Tristram's dry-goods store is described on successive pages (60, 61).

Still, fascinating factoids abound: at one point, there was only one needle in all of Henefer, "carefully guarded and passed around from home to home" (60). William W. Cluff, called as a counselor in Summit Stake presidency when it was organized in 1877, had served earlier as bishop in "sev-

eral" local towns, say the authors in drastic understatement, since they then list fourteen communities (209), which may well be a Church-wide record.

Essential for *Journal* readers interested in internal ecclesiastical politics is the short-sighted decision of Salt Lake City hierarchs to destroy Coalville's beautiful Gothic Revival tabernacle, completed after in 1899 after two decades of arduous sacrifice:

In the pre-dawn hours of 5 March 1971, Coalville townspeople were awakened by the rumble of bulldozers, the cracking of giant timbers, and the falling of brick and stone. By daybreak, the tower of the tabernacle, which had been visible for miles around as a symbol of the Mormon presence, lay shattered. . . .

In an attempt to prevent its destruction, preservationists made several visits to the highest-ranking LDS church officials in Salt Lake City. Lawsuits were threatened. Attempts were made to buy the building. A "roundtable" of three analytical articles . . . appeared in . . . *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*. A history of the Wright family of Coalville contains a thirty-four-page section on the tabernacle's demise. . . . The chairman of Brigham Young University's Environmental Design Department was fired and the entire department was dismantled after the chairman attempted to organize an on-site protest. The tabernacle's destruction caused one man [author Allen Roberts] to spend the next five years researching and writing an inventory of historic Mormon architecture. The adverse conse-

quences of the loss in Coalville, along with the uproar over the later gutting . . . of the interior of the Logan LDS Temple may have been positive factors in the saving and restoring of the splendid Manti LDS Temple and several significant LDS tabernacles. . . . However, this silver lining was not much of a consolation to many in the Summit LDS Stake. (183-85)

Doris Karren Burton. *A History of Uintah County: Scratching the Surface*. Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Uintah County Commission, 1996. 446 pp. Preface, introduction, photographs, selected bibliography, index. \$19.95. ISBN 0-913738-06-9

This volume of the Utah Centennial County History series chronicles the informational and entertaining history of Uintah County. The Uinta Basin, one of America's last frontier areas and 175 miles from Salt Lake City, never developed railroad service. The title comes from the petroglyphs and pictographs, scratched into its rocks as an early history of its Native American inhabitants. Burton has written fourteen chapters, each organized chronologically, to describe the Ute Indians, explorer/trappers (fur trader William Ashley gave his name to Ashley Valley, Ashley Center [now Vernal], Ashley Ward, Ashley Falls, Ashley Valley High School, and a myriad of "Ashley" babies), pioneer settlements, agriculture and livestock, mining and petro-

leum, commercial developments, twentieth-century events, transportation and communications, religious organizations, education, water, culture/arts/recreation, law and order, and community services. Historical photographs enhance the information.

In 1861 when it seemed that the Pony Express route might extend through the Uinta Basin, Brigham Young sent explorers and settlers. They returned with a negative report: "The area was one vast contiguity of waste, and measurably valueless, excepting for nomadic purposes, hunting grounds for Indians and to hold the world together" (7). The lands were set aside as an Indian reservation with Captain Pardon Dodds as the first Indian agent. The first Mormon pioneers, including Teancum Taylor, settled Ashley Valley in 1877.

Another memorable couple was Trim and Peter Dillman, who came to Utah in 1872 to look for gold, opened a drug store in 1886, then opened the first funeral parlor in Ashley Valley. Their son Elmer married Bessie, a local girl, and continued the business. Bessie carried on after Elmer died in the influenza epidemic of 1918, married Frank Swain, built a new funeral home, and "was Ashley Valley's only undertaker until 1949." Bessie also "manufactur[ed] laundry soap in 1922" (162, 165).

Burton candidly reports a sometimes unseemly record of negotiations with the Utes. Each time homesteaders wanted more land, the reservation shrank. A third of its three million acres was delivered to whites in 1905 by Theo-

dore Roosevelt's decree (95). Utes were pressured to integrate into white society. Also in 1905 the Uinta National Forest was expanded to include previous Indian territory. The Utes still struggle to maintain their culture and autonomy.

Burton is equally frank about the area's Chinese settlers, many of whom reached the Ashley Valley after the little-known 1885 "Chinese Massacre" in Rock Springs, Wyoming, among laborers in the Union Pacific Coal Company. Among Uintah businesses founded by Chinese were Wong Sing's laundry, furniture and general merchandise store; and On Chung's restaurant, bathhouse, and laundry.

In addition to the valuable and exhaustive research, Burton sprinkles her narrative with vivid vignettes. For instance, Sheriff John T. Pope, elected in 1890, was the first lawman to venture into Brown's Hole to arrest his friend Butch Cassidy for robbing a bank. Three weeks later Pope received a post card from Cassidy in Arizona: "Pope, gawd damn you, lay off me. I don't want to kill you" (375).

In 1916 the new Bank of Vernal building commissioned "80,000 textured bricks" manufactured in Salt Lake City at seven cents apiece. Freight charges were quadruple that amount, but a fifty-pound package could be sent parcel post for only fifty-two cents. The Parker Lumber Company wrapped "forty tons of bricks" in fifty-pound packages:

The brick had to go 407 miles by

standard-gauge railroad to Mack, Colorado, then, by narrow gauge, sixty miles to Watson, Utah, where the railroad ended. The final sixty-five miles to Vernal was by freight wagons over rough roads and by ferry over the Green River. The brick was delivered in the spring and the roads were muddy. The bank directors asked the postmaster if the packages could be delivered directly to the bank site, but he insisted the brick had to come to the post office with each package going over the counter and being stamped. When the crates began to pile up in the mud, the postmaster changed his mind and delivered them to the site, coming there to stamp them. Because the wagon journey to Vernal took four days each way, mountains of brick were piling up. A frantic postmaster in Mack, Colorado, telegraphed Washington for help. Postal regulations were immediately changed to limit the total weight of any parcel-post shipment in one day to 200 pounds; but . . . the last brick was already en route to Vernal (157-58).

The bank was nicknamed the "Parcel Post Bank." A delightful photograph shows a horse-drawn freight wagon loaded ten bundles high with bricks (158).

Douglas D. Alder and Karl F. Brooks, *A History of Washington County*. Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Washington County Commission, 1996. 418 pp. Preface, introduction, photographs, selected bibliography, index. \$19.95. ISBN 0-91373-13-1

From an overview of the land and its early inhabitants through a closing discussion of the future of the county, *A History of Washington County* considers many subjects, including the indigenous people and the county's natural environment.

The history of European contact begins when Spanish priests Atanasio Dominguez and Silvestre Velez de Escalante traversed it in October 1776. Later American mountain man Jedediah Smith, following the trail blazed by the two priests over fifty years earlier, traveled through the area for short distances. In May 1844 U.S. Army Captain John C. Fremont passed through the County en route from California to Utah, while, in October 1849, hopeful miners headed the other direction.

That same year Mormon explorer Parley P. Pratt encountered what became known as Utah's "Dixie." He beheld a "wide expanse of chaotic matter, . . . huge hills, sandy deserts [and] perpendicular rocks" (13). From the arrival of the first Latter-day Saint pioneers in the 1850s and 1860s until the 1930s, Washington County's residents lived an isolated existence. The railroad bypassed the county on the west and commercial navigation of the Colorado River proved but a dream. Wagon freighting and ranching kept the local economy alive.

Gradually outside influences and money came to Washington County. In 1909, "with the stroke of [President William Howard] Taft's pen, southern Utah was changed forever" by the creation of Zion National Park (217). Tour-

ism was a godsend to the county. The Utah Parks Company and the Union Pacific Railroad, the leading promoter of the area's natural wonders, improved local roads, installed a modern bridge over the Virgin River, and constructed tourist lodgings. The Great Depression of the 1930s actually had a positive effect as federal monies flowed into local projects. Workers from the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) completed dams, roads, and campgrounds.

The communities of Washington County have surprisingly diverse histories. Since the 1877 construction of the St. George LDS Temple, the county seat has assumed a place of regional and religious significance. Rockville, today the gateway to Zion National Park, was located on the Virgin River in 1862 by John Langston and William R. Crawford. A year earlier, Santa Clara was settled by Swiss immigrants, "called" to raise grapes. Toquerville, named after Chief Toquer, a friendly Paiute, was settled in 1858.

By the late twentieth century, booming growth rates in the county have become a cause for concern for many: "The question of how many people the area can sustain has an intense political debate" (372).

Donald G. Godfrey and Brigham Y. Card. *The Diaries of Charles Ora Card: The Canadian Years, 1886-1903*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993. xxxviii + 668 pp.

Portraits, photographs, maps, notes, biographical note, timeline of activities, appendix of Card's common spellings and abbreviations, index. ISBN 0-87480-410-8. Copies are available for \$24.95 Canadian, from Oliver's Book Center, 2025 Mayor Magrath Drive South, Lethbridge, Alberta, Canada T1K 2S2, (403) 328-4010; and from Cardston Bookstore, 226 Main Street, Cardston, Alberta, Canada, T3A-3B5, (403) 653-2698.

Charles O. Card was an important figure in Mormon history. His diaries are an irreplaceable documentary record. And this edition of his Canadian diaries book is a significant contribution, carefully and helpfully prepared for the reader.

Card was baptized at sixteen in Michigan in 1856 and, with his family, joined the westward exodus. They lived for three years in Farmington, then spent the next quarter century in Cache Valley where he was, by any measure, a pillar of the community. He served for sixteen years as a city councilman, in community positions for canals, roads, education, and law. In addition to various ward positions, he supervised the construction of the Logan Tabernacle and the Logan Temple, and served in the stake presidency. He had four plural wives, one of whom actively cooperated with the federal marshals to get him jailed. The others seemed genuinely devoted to him, an affection he tenderly reciprocated. They were Sarah Jane Painter, Lavinia Clark Rigby, and Zina Young, the widowed daughter of Zina Diantha Huntington

Smith Jacobs Young and Brigham Young. To avoid federal prosecution, he was packed to move to Mexico when, in September 1886, Church President John Taylor asked him to go instead to explore the possibilities of a settlement in Canada.

From that point on, Card, who turned forty-seven the next month, expended his considerable talents and energy in building Canada's Mormon colonies. Sarah Jane and Lavinia stayed in Cache Valley, but Zina accompanied him to Canada, an "exile" broken by frequent trips to visit her mother (who became Relief Society general president) during this period and by the mother's own frequent visits. The editors have broken the run of Card's daily diary entries at convenient points: a "prologue" covering the first exploration journey, migration (1887-1890), Card's assignment to preside over the fledgling settlement (1890-95), three sections focusing on major economic projects (1895-1901), and Card's return to Cache Valley for the final two years of his life. He died in 1903.

The editors have supplied an extremely helpful overview of Canadian history, the Alberta region, relations with Indians in that section, government land-settlement policies, and circumstances in Utah preceding and during this period. They standardize dates, providing a complete day, day, month, and year, in boldface. Editors who reproduce the irritating nineteenth-century practice of identifying only new months and new years should replicate this deci-

sion. Footnotes, far more convenient than endnotes, provide helpful supplementary material and identifications. The only compromise with quality is the type size—an eye-straining 8 or 9 point to avoid excerpting the diaries—and most scholars interested in comprehensiveness would find the trade-off acceptable.

Card has an energetic and vivid though unpolished style. Mingled with the entries that provide the backdrop of daily labor appear such character-revealing comments as these:

Saturday, December 20, 1890— . . . the indictments were borne of Special prejudice wrought up for the occasion . . . To the best of my knowledge & information, I can lay them to my ex wife & her Legal advisor & petyfogger Mark Fletcher a notorious apostate who would sell the Lord for a few pence if he were only afforded the opportunity. (162)

Fast day, Sunday, May 2, 1895[7] — . . . At the close I made some remarks on the moral status in consequence of 2 young men [who] mad[e] their acknowledgements & asked the pardon of the sts for indulging too freely in intoxicants while on a trip to Lethbridge. I advised all to respect each others rights & property. . . . Stated some were meddling with cattle & killing cattle not their own. . .

Monday, May 3, 1897—. . . Gray handed a letter to me from Capt. (Inspector) Davidson who had heard of my remarks in fast meeting & stated that if I know of any cattle killing . . . the Police would attend

to it & if any one screened another party they were also culpable. This I knew but we have now a devil here in form of a Corporal Bolderson . . . who is prejudiced and looks after everything trifling. Would make a man an offender for a word and I am informed he has been sent here on purpose to watch the Mormons. . . (404-5)

Tuesday and Wednesday, June 7 and 8, 1898—. . . The young people & children . . . formed a surprise on my wife Zina and to Celebrate Brigham Youngs (her fathers) Birth day. We joined them all of whom were in vehicles Provided with Lunch & drove East about 6 miles . . . where we spent the day in sports all programed out. The enlarged photo in a beautiful frame was presented to Zina in token of her faithful labors in the Mutual S.S. & Primaries for the past 11 years. She replied to them in tears of Joy. . . (461)

This book delivers everything it promises except—so far, the succeeding volumes; but this is the fault of the University of Utah's shifting publication policies, not the fault of the editors. It seems unthinkable that the rest of this marvelous diary will not eventually be published.

Susan Easton Black and Larry C. Porter, eds., *Lion of the Lord: Essays on the Life and Service of Brigham Young*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1995. xii + 462 pp. Notes, photographs, index. \$19.95. ISBN 1-57345-112-6

These sixteen essays examine the life and career of Brigham Young, the Lion of the Lord, and emphasize his granite-mindedness, hard-headed practicality, and unswerving devotion to the Mormon faith as he led his people in carving out a kingdom of God in the Great Basin of the American West. As he once said of the constant persecution he and his adherents faced, "We have been kicked out of the frying-pan into the fire, out of the fire into the middle of the floor, and here we are and here we will stay" (x).

A fine selection of scholars discusses this great Mormon president, starting with a look at his birthplace down to his death, with a final article on his role as a preacher and expander of his religious beliefs: Larry C. Porter, "Whitingham, Vermont: Birthplace of Brigham Young—Prophet, Colonizer, Statesman"; Ronald K. Esplin, "Conversion and Transformation: Brigham Young's New York Roots and the Search for Bible Religion"; Ronald K. Esplin, "Brigham Young and the Transformation of the 'First' Quorum of the Twelve"; David J. Whitaker, "Brigham Young and the Missionary Enterprise"; Milton V. Backman, Jr., "The Keys Are Right Here': Succession in the Presidency"; Gail Geo. Holmes, "A prophet Who Followed, Fulfilled, and Magnified: Brigham Young in Iowa and Nebraska"; Susan Easton Black, "The Mormon Battalion: Religious Authority Clashes with

Military Leadership"; Dale F. Beecher, "Colonizer of the West"; Richard L. Jensen, "Brigham Young and the Gathering to Zion"; Richard O. Cowan, "Brigham Young: Builder of Temples"; Paul H. Peterson, "Brigham Young and the Mormon Reformation"; John J. Stewart, "The Railroad Builder"; Leonard J. Arrington, "Brigham Young and the Great Basin Economy"; Jill Mulvay Derr, "Brigham Young and the Awakening of Mormon Women in the 1870s"; William G. Hartley, "Brigham Young and Priesthood Work at the General and Local Levels"; and John W. Welch and John Wm. Maddox, "Reflections on the Teachings of Brigham Young."

Ten photographs of Brigham Young show views from 1845, the earliest known, to 1877, the year of his death. Perhaps the most amazing portion of this book is a fifty-two-page "Subject Index of Discourses of Brigham Young," most from the *Journal of Discourses*, but including sixteen other sources. From this list of several hundred subjects, a random selection includes such topics as Adam as God, blood atonement, dancing, gathering, kingdom of God, laughter, plural marriage, priesthood, revelation, Joseph Smith, sugar beets, temple, and women. Students of Mormon history can forever be grateful to John W. Welch and John William Maddox, who created this index based on works by Elden J. Watson and Daniel B.

McKinlay with the editorial assistance of Maray Parkin, Angela Ashurst-McGee "and others at *BYU Studies*" (388).

To sum up the life of this extraordinary man, the editors quote him as saying, in his final years, that at his interment there

should be "no crying or mourning with anyone as I have done my work faithfully and in good faith" (x). This book is an excellent addition to the many other studies of Brigham Young and will be enjoyed by the general reader and scholar alike.

"...the first scholarly, book-length effort to separate myth from reality . . . of one of the most colorful, controversial figures in Western and Mormon history . . . It will stand as a definitive benchmark."

Newell Bringham, President, Mormon History Association

SCOUNDREL'S TALE

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Edited by
Will Bagley

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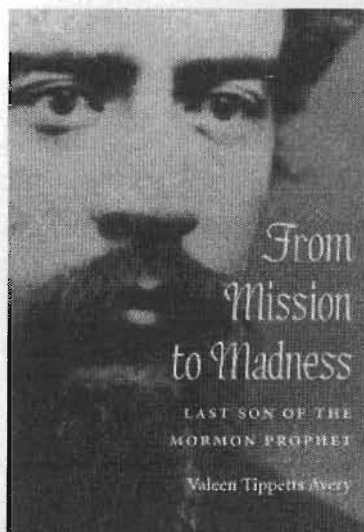
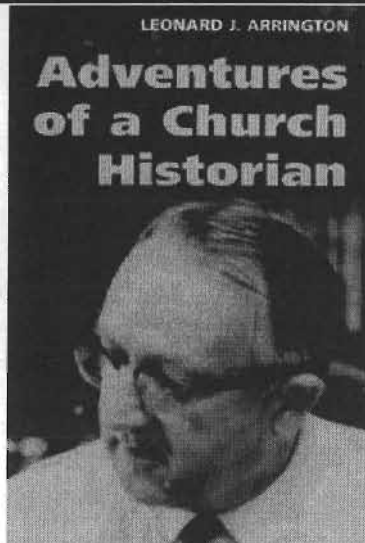
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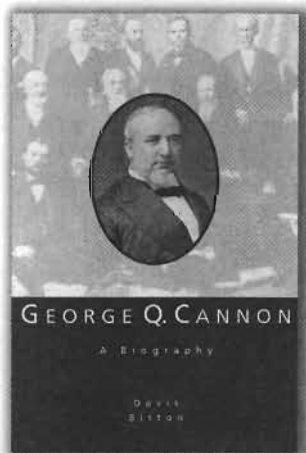
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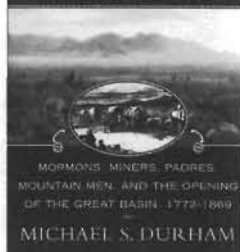
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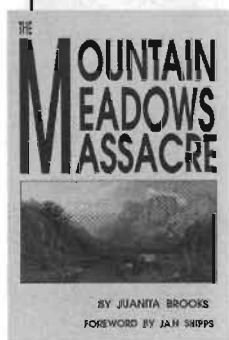
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